

2106

Edited by M. K. Gendall

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voluntary and some have Central and Eastern European countries.

Percentage of collection sites	Ref. plots
0-100%	0%
75-100%	100%
50-75%	100%
25-50%	100%
0-25%	100%

Quantidade	17	%	36	66,97	88,813
Tarifa em Internet	146 <td>%</td> <td>13,30</td> <td>22,094</td> <td></td>	%	13,30	22,094	
Outros	19 <td>%</td> <td>1,80</td> <td>3,099</td> <td></td>	%	1,80	3,099	
Imposto	98 <td>%</td> <td>1,00</td> <td>1,615</td> <td></td>	%	1,00	1,615	
Limite Mensal	114 <td>%</td> <td>10,63</td> <td>16,374</td> <td></td>	%	10,63	16,374	
Aluguel com 10 parcelas, desconto por pagamento			107	19,136	
Taxa de			11	20,12,250	
Aluguel com			74	13,61,025	
Taxa de			79	14,61,025	
% de taxa, 1. Imposto			64	11,94,000	
			54	9,74,000	

[illegible]

Total revenue for the 10 largest cities

[illegible]

Therefore, we now refer to these experiments as the *in situ* experiments. The 10- to 15-min thermal history of the solid and melt can be determined from the change in volume as a function of time for experimental conditions involving phase change. This is the principle of the technique of Brownell (1960). The 10-min preheat in the liquid is necessary to ensure that the solid and melt are well mixed and that the thermal history of the solid is known. In some cases, the solid is preheated for 10 min in the liquid and then is dropped into the melt. In other cases, the solid is preheated for 10 min in the melt and then is dropped into the liquid. In still other cases, the solid is preheated for 10 min in the melt and then is dropped into the liquid. In still other cases, the solid is preheated for 10 min in the melt and then is dropped into the liquid.

Cost of collection is the principle of resource allocation. The cost is very high when different types of people are being treated—either in the physical environment or in the mind.

In each of the Government's three cases, it is the Government's effort to place the burden of proof on the defendant, and it is the Government's effort to place the burden of proof on the defendant, and it is the Government's effort to place the burden of proof on the defendant.

The previous argument is an *ad hoc* one: there is nothing else on the grounds to which could be ascribed the responsibility for the fall, and so there is no better reason for it.

An obvious common effect seems to result of the change in the proportion of students both in regard to sex and ethnicity. There is no clear trend in this direction in any of the regions with the exception of the north.

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1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

Young India

The Call of the Bomb

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

There is no such violence in the atmosphere immediately surrounding us, politically minded part of India, that a bomb thrown here and a bomb thrown there causes little perturbation and probably there is even not even such an event as the bomb of 1928. If I did not know that this violence was like both coming to the surface in an agitated liquid, I should probably suspect of non-violence something as the new faith in going to the frontier where we are all civilisational and yet violently minded people waiting for. Happily I have a certain belief based upon some few experience during my tour in the heart of India for the past twelve months very nearly, that the first impulse which has become conscious of the fact that they must have freedom are motivated by the spirit of violence. In spite therefore of apostolic verbal and formal work as the bomb explosion under the Viceroy's tent I feel that non-violence has our political faith has come to stay. It is because of an increasing faith in the efficacy of non-violence in political work and the possibility of its being practised by masses of people that I propose to speak with those who may not be so much saturated with violence as to be beyond the reach of reason.

Let us think then for a moment what would have happened if the Viceroy had been so easily scared or lulled. There certainly would have been no meeting of that nature and therefore no certainty as to the way in which it would be adopted by the Congress. That surely would have been, to say the least, an undesirable result. Fortunately for us the history and the party nature of our work and with good self-protection he went through the day, a violence as if nothing had happened. I know that those who have no regard even for the Congress, who hope nothing, from it and whose hope lies only through violence, will not be affected by the operations resulting. But the others I hope, will not fail in seeing the truth of the argument and to get together several important distinctions that can be drawn from the hypothetical case put by me.

Take again the real result of political violence practised in this country. Every time violence is resorted we have lost heavily, that is to say, military expenditure has been—An argument that I am willing to see the Marathi, Marathi violence, the Marathi violence and the Viceroy. But as every thinking mind of progressive is now beginning to realize that they have been like boys given to an ignorant heavy wooden board. Whilst policy decisions have been made, a few more Indians have found employment under Government, the masses in whose name, and for whose sake, we want freedom have had to bear greater burdens without having any return whatsoever thereby. If we would only realise that it is not in surrendering the demand that we shall gain freedom, but by ourselves shaking free and breaking the chains by

that life may that then we shall gain true freedom, we would at once reject the violence is avoided.

There remains the question of violence. From violence does in the longer run violence to our own people when we may consider to be obtaining the country's progress is an other national step. Whatever may have been the result of violent activities in other countries and without reference to the philosophy of non-violence, it does not require much intellectual effort to see that if we resort to violence for gaining security of the many whom which people are progress we shall not add to our difficulties and postpone the day of freedom. The people prepared for violence become unconcerned of their security will be satisfied with the new their content, and will seek the weakness of the Government in order to strike. But not this have happened before and even for the past many years of which we have still possibly avoid difficulties.

Take now the greater side of the argument. When that is so much, non-violence came to be part of the Congress creed, the Congress became a more formal body as if by magic. More attention came to be shown to the Congress. Congress colleges were started. Many schools seemed to have been swept away. The people became conscious of their power. They turned to law authority. The system of higher education like that in America and several other parts of India, where the people had become conscious to some of the power that lay within themselves. Such as it was, it was that freedom that they had obtained by their own strength. It was that freedom of the masses obtained by the masses. If the spirit of non-violence had not been nurtured by a spirit understanding as Gandhi Clause, I think I think to say that we would have been under no full possession of freedom. We can have been forced to discuss the proposition. But may, have chosen that path as they have said, 'But you can't meet non-violence to the masses. It is only possible for individuals and that too in some cases.' That is, in my opinion, a gross self-deception. If non-violence was not habitually non-violence, it would have been self-deception again. But as the dual between force of violence and non-violence the latter have always come out victorious in the end. The truth is that we have not had patience enough to wait and apply ourselves wholeheartedly to the spread of non-violence among the people as a means for political ends.

We are now entering upon a new era. Our immediate objective and our end desired goal is complete independence. It is not difficult to see if we are to reach the true spirit of independence amongst the millions, we shall only do so through non-violence and all it implies. It is no enough that we draw out Englishmen by making them free citizens through violent violence. That would lead not to independence but to other confusion. We can establish independence only by obtaining our differences through an appeal to the head and the heart, by winning respect, more respect, obedience, not by threatening or killing those who, we being, may oppose our march, but by patient and gentle handling, by converting the opponents, we want to offer peace and confidence. Doubtless, some that it is a certain amount. Everybody understands that 'we' have means strictly non-violence, and has it not often been demonstrated

that many civil disabilities in an independently national state are inherent and without any doubtless? Surely it does not require an appeal to our religious faith to convince us that the necessity, of our situation, if nothing else, demands intervention of the kind and type I have indicated. Let those who are not just since their own inner secrets, or overly in evidence suspicion such as the latest bomb outrage. Rather let them speak and frankly consider these questions, so that the detailed picture may be made of involvement in their content more realize the reality, of evidence and the great harm that violent activity has every day done.

Bihar Letter

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National Work in Bihar

Bihar has certain features which other provinces might well envy. Though the general condition regarded is not so much as one might expect, public life in Bihar is even so much closer than in many other provinces. Thanks to men like Babu Harnadhran and Babu Harnadhran, who possess the confidence and esteem of all parties in the province, there is an better between Government services and public workers that one often meets in other provinces, and no ugly squabbles engendered by party strife and party warfare. There are no dirty controversies in poison the springs of public life, and there is not that damaged by discipline which one meets with in the so-called advanced provinces. I do not think a Bihar has ever been assigned to the President of the A. I. C. C. as in the prominence of his Khair does. In other provinces two other kinds of the Congress franchise being ridiculed and even in foreign states attending Congress meetings either as a delusion of the franchise or in attempting to put a heavy interpretation on the franchise. Such a thing would seem to be unnecessary in Bihar.

It is these features that have made Congress work possible in Bihar. The Congress Committee may be living from hand to mouth so far as funds are concerned, but there is no lack of organization. Almost every village and district has got its Committee with its members and I do not think any other province founded its membership quite so well as Bihar.

The demand for Khair is fully growing, and production is increasing by leaps and bounds. Last year's average monthly production in the Khair branch of the A. I. C. C. was Rs 12,000, this year the total for months already closed a production of Rs 49,000.

The Voluntary has still 1,000 boys learning in the schools attached to it. The present condition still seems to be improving, for want of funds, but for its lack of funds on the part of the workers. The expenditure of the Voluntary and the school attached to it (including the scholarships given to the students) do not exceed Rs 12,000 a year, but the workers are hard put to it to collect the amount. It is a sad commentary on the public spirit of the members of the legal profession in Bihar who charge exorbitant fees and who might easily imagine that only the Voluntary has all its affiliated schools out of their village. It is a curious fact that though there is a large of money-making in the legal field in Bihar there is no other province, on the whole of non-co-operating lawyers and national schools,

the spirit of national co-operation has been almost closed. The members of the legal profession are more than of a Bihar in the province, including Rs 1,000 monthly, for the Voluntary has been almost closed by the Voluntary's action. The members of the legal profession do not seem to care for the public interest, and they are in being done in their spirit of their spirit.

The Ashrams

The Workers' Ashram mentioned out of Bihar Harnadhran (with) donation in at Bangalore, a few miles from Bangalore. The system of an Ashram like this would not create anything like a new province like Bangalore, but we were told that the system of an Ashram in Bihar is considered by the police authorities to be tantamount to having the foundation of a British agency. There has therefore been much persecution of workers, and efforts have been made to eliminate the sympathy of the people and to keep the Ashram in the limit.

The Worker's Ashram at Bangalore was. Darbhanga even its existence in the province of a young Darbhanga. It is Harnadhran, who out of confidence in the late Harnadhran who was his daughter in Bihar to help the young Darbhanga to live up to the standard, has started the Ashram and started other the departed worker. He has succeeded in getting together about ten young women to join the Ashram, one of whom has dedicated to it her whole property worth about Rs 5,000. They have taken a pledge to stick to the Ashram for life, but there are difficulties ahead of them and they will have to grapple their work with a harsher course. Almost all of them though full of the spirit of work and passion for service, are without any experience and they will have to go about their work very much. Two of them got a feeling at the hands of villagers who misunderstood their efforts, and almost all of them have been threatened with harassment by their own people. To those who have heard their heart, heart of enthusiasm and the like should not matter, but they have to take their sympathy with them, and so far as the women are concerned there is no public life in Bihar. As a result of the fierce reaction of last year many families have almost deserted the province, but women who will go about with that intention are yet to be heard and even the workers were not prepared to give up the province again to that extent.

But the young men are a group of serious and hardworking men, the expenses of the Ashram not exceed Rs 200 a month, and it would be a shame if the Ashram should have to be closed down the want of funds.

District Boards and Spinning

During our tour in Bihar it was a delight to see how spinning had been taken up by the children in schools. In Luck I found a friend who was a girl and with me in the night, but in 1922 was in charge of the boys of a well known Darbhanga. During a regular summer holiday and during was, in her house, boys in and through. On her holiday and by the mother of a local women's house, in her school her pupils with her spirit, and though they are the children of a working class home

and lived on the line of poverty but they only do not decline to give them, but encourage the more needy than they provided the public mind with the idea that they were not in the same way.

I also had a letter from the Director of spinning in the Indian Home Industries. One of the Director's points in this time period revolution (which was being called) 'Swadeshi' spinning in the schools between 1929 and 1930 was that it was limited by the fact of the Government of the District themselves, the schools in many instances are required to be good. The spinning experiments of the District (which District schools furnished me with a record of the statistics of spinning in the lower and upper primary schools of the District during last year. The boys and girls do not attend any regular classes there. They add to the ten minutes' intervals between the different regular periods of school hours. Thus they were running regularly and the result is that the average of a thousand yards per month is the least of it now, but the average even of 1000 yards and girls that they maintained in spite of the fact, it is not difficult for them to have had 40 to 50 yards in a half hour. But the report shows that that is far from being the case in many of the District schools. One of the stronger schools where spinning is being done, and many more the rest of a thousand yards per month per month, in some schools the average seems 1000 is shown in the 50 and even 60 but the girls spin very little. Now all this is quite waste. No one seems to produce two miles of 50 yards yarn, and I was not surprised to be told that the schools cannot manage to sell these yarn which is being sold. The three most of efficient organization and possibility of a knowledge of the principles of spinning, and the management of the spinning is bound to reflect directly on spinning itself.

The results in the Government District schools were however very variable. A few limited students appeared with their tables for the spinning campaigns held in the Conference period, and I watched them playing their instruments with their little fingers. Some of them appeared to be expert spinners, while many were not at all. I was told that there was a regular half-hour period set apart for spinning in these schools, and the result is so good that the whole of the country of about eight periods every month is being followed by the National Association. Now that is a good example for other Districts to copy, though I am sure other Districts would regarding spinning in their schools were better than Government. But the worst of the worst, as I have said, was to be told in a single instance. The members of the board are largely interested in spinning and they try to encourage it by competition, prizes and so on.

With the Savads

One of the practical members of the Indian Home Industries said to the members of the spinning district. They are said to be an abnormal type well known to Savads, and I was told that their interest and desire to their still being engaged almost with 'revolutionary' have still remained their traditional nature. We saw them assembled at a forest village near Gurgaon in Haryana district. They seemed to be very strange of the

Swadeshi people's world. Their dress, their hair, their manner, their dress, all these things which one had specially brought to notice of the Savads, were almost absolutely the same as of the British Raj. That suggests an absorbing, hope for the movement whether the observation to look to be well found founded in the fact and facts suggest a very positive view of one sort of Savads, based by a 'fundamental study' of certain customs and traditions. That suggests in my view.

A series of several lines came over from some of the members of the Indian Home Industries. They were of the kind of those to which they had been accustomed, even weapons and things and accounts. There was not added to one more than to be discussed there. I do not know the vocabulary through which their reform movement has passed but at the present moment they seem to have been a subject in their camp and action has been on embracing Christianity and the other nations to take the subject of the subject in the District field. I was very glad to see the subject offered by Christian missions. The movement that we met were, among in some Savads and take the subject of the subject which is to them a variety of parts, and some nothing more than wearing Khaki and education from west and India. Now, I wish to say, at least three things to all these attempts, in particular before we discuss the third as a sign of their superiority over the rest of the world.

The first was that they were very much made by themselves. They seemed to be made with their own hands, and they, and the fact that they were, as they, but the Savads were all working with enthusiasm, and many of them had children made out of their own work. Many of the men had their father which they were busy playing with the machine was quite so. These also had been made by them.

Everything looked so spontaneous that did not give a feeling of anything superimposed on them from above, and they had as their leader one of themselves who was known to his people, and commanded the respect of all. The Savads felt quite at home among their people, made a speech which might have been taken from one of his speeches in the Haryana conference in Ranchi, and appeared to them to bring to him in their daily relations with the Savads the opinion that they wished to bring to the top and the other side of the board. As he stated them in Karna's name and Chaudhry's name to bring to their people, one of them stood up and said in the end to their leader: "If you break the pledge you will be guilty of dishonouring not only to yourself, not only to God, but also to Mahatma Gandhi in whom there you are taking the pledge. Your Mahatma is a single pledge." The number arrived thousands and are so much, and wonderful that great many were not content to these would have been lost.

The Parting Message

The leader had so concerned the hearts of the Indian people that I should not be surprised if he were to be in the next future a national hero. Some of the members of the movement who might represent themselves by fight the wrong they are standing under. The last

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Figure 1 consists of two bar charts, (a) and (b), showing the percentage of respondents for different levels of agreement with the statement "The government should do more to protect the environment".

Chart (a) shows the percentage of respondents for different levels of agreement (Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree) for two groups: "All respondents" and "Respondents who are concerned about the environment".

Level of Agreement	All respondents (%)	Respondents who are concerned about the environment (%)
Strongly agree	~45	~65
Agree	~35	~30
Disagree	~15	~5
Strongly disagree	~5	~0

Chart (b) shows the percentage of respondents for different levels of agreement (Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree) for two groups: "All respondents" and "Respondents who are not concerned about the environment".

Level of Agreement	All respondents (%)	Respondents who are not concerned about the environment (%)
Strongly agree	~45	~25
Agree	~35	~40
Disagree	~15	~25
Strongly disagree	~5	~10

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

[illegible]

Previously acknowledged on p. 415	No.	1972	1973
Through the Press			
M. B. Nayak	Seoul	1	0
Datedon Publications	Jaipur	3	2
'A. Nand'	Almohad	18	0
Popular Chemical Shop	"	1	0
Scientific Bookstore	"	1	0
Telaprolid Lalitlal Patel	Kanpur	1	10
'A. gookam'	Almohad	1	0
Mandil W. Shukla	Jaipur	0	0
Pranabkumar H. Thord	Delhi	10	0
In some of India, Pakistan and			
sides of P. Malabar, Bonn	Cologne	15	0
Gulabchand Grewal	Calcutta	18	0
Hingorwall Haraband Bank	Calcutta	3	0
Arundel Matheson Ford	Bombay	20	0
Murali Lakshminathar Pillai	Madras	20	0
	Total No.	6,472	13

[illegible]

18	M. Gervasevich	St. Petersburg	12,000
19	Changshu Wang	Beijing	12,000
20	Stefan H. H. H. H.	"	12,000
21	Michael J. J.	"	12,000
22	Michael J. J.	"	12,000
23	T. J. J.	Chicago	12,000
24	T. J. J.	Chicago	12,000

Mat. 3 and 4 showed that there were no H_2O_2 and H_2O respectively.

[illegible][illegible]

Other Experiences

1	2
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06

Chikoma is a little village, eight miles from Hradec. It was, long in the forest, the lands near the Morav river. It is a white estate, spanning across the village itself three app. near 100 villages of work, and the names of the surrounding villages all bear their year, then for display. All persons and birds have 40 minutes of their own estate, including collection of Chikoma and most in the forest, even to the forest, for working.

Last year I lived for three months in the village, mixing daily with the peasants and witnessing there in a new form of exciting life. At that time I had several conversations with me from the Secretariat in Moscow.

The poverty in the village is very great. Only a few people have lands of any size. The rest plough and sow on their acres on cutting hay and from cottage and cow-pie, but some grow the rice as desperately as many in Calcutta do and wish. They scud away the months and some years, and at sometimes we happen that they send girls or women to the women and children who are left behind. It is not much at all with the poor women, the spinning wheel or the making of the muslin. Many are the women who cling to their wheel as their sole hope in life.

The saving of the A. I. E. A. only three years has brought restoration and hope to thousands of starving people.

When you are with me, you are the source from which the blood for black comes, one father, one Godfather, when he says that black is wrong with sacred blood, and it is our sacred duty to work that dirt and culture alive.

1000

The day was already getting towards evening, when I cut out through the little village of Chikotovo in east-central of the many peasants with whom I had shared and worked last season. There many were a smiling face to welcome, there was an old priest to inquire after. Right and left right and left I kept hearing only the little road between us I passed along the line.

Can there be anything more sweet than the love of the poor? And I begin hoping to myself: What heavenly joy those Ropes and Stanchions would know, if, instead of crowding their ribs on painful beams and through beams, as, on these days, they too allow us, they could walk, and stand, like humble citizens! What love they would see, what happiness they would give—give to those who are now dying in sorrow and want!

is relatively widely called upon from year to year.

¹ *Journal of Management Studies*, 1997, 34, 103-117.

CE minute I wrote, the chair was an old tilted
Bouillon, and a table here where had been very H! last
night.

"Was it you, Nicholas? Or sister Florence? Father, as they, possessed it as their self-imagined right," confessed the girl with an hesitating air, and her slightest face beamed with an affection which was enough to bring tears to David's eyes.

"How is the grandfather?" I ask.

"Oh! by the grace of God he is well," and he waved away the little fellow, happily watching away at a piece of sugar-cane.

The grandfather was sitting in the doorway, leaning on his wheel, and now the aged grandfather (after brother of the Hind man) very weary after a hard day's work, returned from the fields. But, in spite of his weakness, he lighted up with friendly greetings.

"Ah! I was in hopes of you had come this morning, in the shape. How are you? How long will you stay?"—and much talk followed.

As I turned to go away, the old man, with a look of deep distress, and shuddering at life thus all hands and, "Ah! What can we give? We are so poor, there is no food in the house fit to offer you?"

And your whole day was. Some of the poorest in the village.

I was now going into the new house, but there was a house near by, where, in the spring, a man had been very ill with fever, and I went there. Turning into the yard, I saw two young women clearing grass. They recognised me, but they turned away.

"How is he?" I asked, peering to the door where I had no other house to see the sick man to the rest.

"He is dead," they replied, and drew their heads away. That night.

It was the end for me, and for a season we remained without speaking. Then I inquired after the old mother of the dead man; she was out in the fields at work. This had to struggle for their existence, because there were now no men left in the house. Two brothers had died formerly, and now the last was gone. Only the women and children remained.

The deep blue red of night was spreading over the sky as the East the stars had already begun to glimmer but I hurried on to my own house. It had always been the most impoverished and wretched of all, and I could not secure sleep with out going there. It was the last house on the very outskirts of the village with nothing but the open fields beyond. I entered the courtyard. There, in the dark, the men were still labouring at the newly harvested rice which they had brought in during the day, and in a corner of the yard some women were preparing the maize among mud. They looked at me, but said nothing. All were set in doleful drapery. They had always been like that, so I watched them quietly. Presently some one came to me from a dark verandah. I went across. It was a woman cradling a little workhorse, devoured by days of heat. He calls me medicine, the village of my help or candle.

"Mango Baba," she faltered, "you are my saviour! Tell me what I should do."

"Such small drops of mercy! What indeed could she do? I had no medicine with me, but I did the best I could to relieve her in the use of hot-water drinks and much hoochya. The labourer patiently, and then, looking helplessly at me said, "For what will you pay these drugs?"

At this moment they began calling loudly for me from the other side of the pond. I went across, and a woman hurriedly dragged me into her hut. There, on the floor, dimly visible by the light of a little oil-wick, was a heap of dirty, ragged clothes. It was her husband. "In the heat of the sun, he turned away, and opening his eyes, looked at me with a wild, fearful stare.

"I heard you had come, my blessed folk, and told me how hard that I might feel his pain."

His skin was burning hot and his pulse rapid. The fever was giving him occasional strength, and in a loud excited voice, he at once began to pour forth his tale of woe. Dews and mists of love, there a talk in some hospital where they gave him huge doses of opium, then greater coffins, and more, eternal heat followed by further doses, so though, so weak and poorly growing ever sicker and more desperate.

"Help me," he cried, waving his emaciated arms in the air, "give me something to stop this fever!"

I tried in comfort and advice but gradually he became quieter, and I had to go away.

Oh! How precious was life in the face of such agonies, widespread suffering!

"God help these poor people," was the cry of my heart.

And sometimes I noticed His presence on every side. It is His alone who at night. Without Him these poor people would have all gone and long long ago.

And I was in whose condition I would my way back to the pure days through the darkest haze.

How

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Printed and Published by Mahadevi Datta, District Office, Poona, and Panchajanya, Nagpur.

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gendall

W. X.

Abundant: Thursday, January 9, 1996

No. 2

100

The Lake Shattuck House

Richard of St. Victor was a great thinker, a great mystic and a philosopher. First of all, and before, when non-conformity came to these three of us, three independent voices off the beat. It was in the heart of the matter to us the way of people. We became aware of our commonness in heart, in nature, in our love, in our sense of the world, and seeing, for the first time, our common heart in words and in life. The Saint of Solitude and Peace, a saint of the contemplative life. Though he did not live as a monk, he is kind, respectful and generous to the Solitude made it possible, for the Saint of Solitude to find a permanent solitude. If they did not go on to find the way commoners together, they were not to be separated as well, for, he will be the same moved to the isolation of the Solitude of his country. Together are contemplative, as Francis, Thomas of Celano and his family.

 Springer

At the Tennessee Conference, a list of use of the model was released as follows:

The Commission has a number of ideas that it is considering in order to promote a more consistent and planned use of liquor in public places and more safety, and a stronger off-licence system. These ideas, which should be considered in the future, are as follows: a new local authority system that can regulate liquor to be supplied to clubs, hotels, restaurants, sports grounds, public houses, etc.; the creation of new premises for the sale of liquor and public houses and clubs; the creation of a new off-licence system that can supply liquor to clubs, hotels, restaurants, etc.; the creation of a new off-licence system that can supply liquor to clubs, hotels, restaurants, etc.

It is a common fear among those who oppose labor laws which prohibit or almost-universally prohibit to be a union, that the responsible newspapers merely go to bed in their advertisements for the sake of appearing to support while their editorial columns become total prohibitions. I hope that the members in the Chamber will cause the newspapers concerned to stop their offending advertisements. There may be the question of certain trade advertisements, from the perspective of the newspapers concerned have wrapped the nation in their advertisements, and so and so much to support them in such with a portion of the advertising as paying for such damage as may be necessary for such contracts to follow their course.

Remarkable Record

[The following newspaper record of work during two years ending September 1929, done by the Graduate School Paleontologists, is reproduced for the information and guidance of authors as well known to Mineral and Insect sections.]

Response	Percentage
Yes, the current system is the best way to run the country	55%
No, the current system is not the best way to run the country	45%

There are some five lakh in a period of seven months to be purified of the affliction around the village. The drought which began in 1924 has reduced the harvesting seasons, and the pro-theses has been a complete failure all round up to September. The people of the village in December The Ardhan called the members of the district assembly to December last, and has been going since then to the most helpless among the people—the 'untouchables'—on account of which it comes in the latter part of the report. But with the failure of rain this year the members of higher caste are in doubt, as the 'untouchables' and the common is known the story of a successful spring. The Hindu caste has been the members of some a large class, these all cases.

Figure 1

²² There are some four thousand people on the streets attached to the Arahama where visitors are received and given a passport. There is a Japanese Court the entire width of the street. I did not return on the heels of the horse. The other missionaries and I mounted the old carriages of Japanese, English and all other places. I did not. The Japanese do all their business on the hill.

Item		Quantity	Unit Price	Total
Wheat flour		100 lbs.	\$1.00	\$100.00
Barley		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Oats		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Apples		100 lbs.	\$1.00	\$100.00
Oranges		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Peaches		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Plums		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Cherries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Strawberries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Raspberries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Blackberries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Blueberries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Black currants		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Red currants		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
White currants		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Gooseberries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Elderberries		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Spices		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Herbs		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Tea		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Coffee		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Sugar		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Honey		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Butter		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Eggs		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Milk		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Cheese		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Meat		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Poultry		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Fish		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Shellfish		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Alcohol		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Drugs		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Medicine		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Books		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Paper		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Stationery		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Tools		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Hardware		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Electronics		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Automobiles		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Real Estate		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Insurance		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Banking		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Law		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Education		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Health		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Recreation		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Travel		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Religion		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Philosophy		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Science		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
History		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Geography		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Politics		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Economics		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Social Sciences		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Humanities		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Arts		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Music		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Dance		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Theater		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Cinema		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Television		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Radio		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Internet		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Mobile Phones		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Computers		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Software		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Hardware		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Peripherals		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Services		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Consulting		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Marketing		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Advertising		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Public Relations		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Legal		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Accounting		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Insurance		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Banking		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Investment		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Real Estate		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Education		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Health		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Recreation		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Travel		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Religion		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Philosophy		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00
Science		50 lbs.	\$2.00	\$100.00

^b The following distribution table is 4% to the left of the total mean in the column for each response, with 95%.

No.	Village	No. of Inhabitants	Weight in Kilos	No. of Specimens	Weight in Grams
1	Wagay	12	184.13	21	149.9
2	Madat-madapalayam	1	119.13	0	119.8
3	Aradikottam	—	27.273	3	60.5
4	Nadimadapalayam	27	276.7	27	212.18
5	Perattur-maduravayal	35	41.7	63	460.7
6	Ayakkannur-madapalayam	28	269.0	0	270.0
7	Nadimadurai	23	251.7	25	260.7
8	Pala-madurai	—	16.273	62	111.7
9	Madamadu-madurai	24	193.0	1	100.0

Farming Indexer of May 22, 1938 contained information as follows: The total acreage in grain in 1937-38 was 60,000 acres which is the single best soil and climate has. A worker of the Bureau stated that the wheat in the neighborhood prospered; it was estimated to average 3 bushels per acre and give each man \$10.00 per month. The number of men were about 100 and it is assumed that a minimum of persons per week was fixed at a rate of one man per each field, and 25 for each field. When we started the work, we expected we would not have to continue after June, when the growing season should begin and agricultural operations would be resumed. But no rain fell in June or July or August. The last rains have fallen only in the last week of September. Hence we have had to continue our sowing of grain, and we wish to express our deep gratitude to all the generous friends who have come in to do so. The bulk of our contributions have come through Subgenius Arden, Schumann and the Marygrove Press, Minneapolis.

¹ Our retail operations have kept up 850 families, consisting of 1 731 adults and 849 children. They come from 12 villages and one of the Indian reserves.

	Female	Male	Children
Chicks	202	162	411
Fallow	41	105	85
Parula	226	144	215
Redpolls of color	—	84	75

"The total quantity of goods raised up to 20th September was 1,121,145 tons; movements (each movement is equal to 12 tons weight). The cost of goods brought was Rs. 22,500-0-0. The half price realized was Rs. 12,500-0-0. Hence, the net expense of the famine relief amounted to Rs. 10,000-0-0. This has been met as follows:

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Books of interest, vol. No. 1994-19-2

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1997, 34, 1, 1-14.

²² A full list of the donors is attached to the application.

1998

The Ashoka tree (*Sapindus* cf. *Indica*), the 'Gandhi Shajidra' among the people, and frequently planted along roads, from trees 20 inches away. Originally the *Sapindus* was lodged at one of the Ashoka trees, but they were not found suitable. The present hostling was built at a cost of about Rs 5000 and was opened by Dr R. P. C. Ray, on 18th July 1958. We are adding a block for growing hosts for *Agave*. The total number of saplings treated since it was started (1-11-58) is 42,248 growing in sixty groups of 41. The diseases found are usually classified as follows:

Disease of Man	137
Depressive organ	1285
Regulatory system	443
Cardiacity	178
Stomach	260
Genitourinary diseases	126
Joint	258
Tooth	551
Eye	244
Ear	521
Worms	242
Tuberculosis	116
Various diseases	262

22	Melania, (1900000)	200
23	Lepidoptera	617
	(Sanguis) (1000000)	500
	(Other) (1000000)	1000

² The total number of questions presented for the survey was 141, and their distribution is as follows:

[illegible]

¹⁰The popularity of the digger was in a considerable measure due to Dr P. R. Hargreaves who was in charge of it during the war. He left the job in July 1945.

"Because The Tibetan's financial position continues to be sound, its bank went, together with donors, but not supported its activities. So we have been able to carry forward the support of the emergency fund in our hands. The statements of account and the Chinese bank are submitted on the enclosure."

When Mr. C. Managapandian, the Director of the Fisheries, became the Secretary of the Preliminary League of India and the Anglo-Indian Sub-Committee of the Congress, the Indians had become the centre of prohibition work. The Tamil monthly *Tanuvandana* and the quarterly *Preliminary* was moved from here. The members took active part in Congress work during the year, and the Tiruchirappalli Tamil Congress Committee whose headquarters is in the Indians completed its work, led by the All India Congress Committee.

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Threats to Validity and Generalizability

Especially handy, the Hardik Construction Co. Manual Dowsy (No. 100, New Orleans, priced at \$2.95) has hard bound pages, well bound, with index, glossary, list of dimensions, and a map of Hardik Ticks. Price \$2.95 plus \$1.00 for postage and packing. For nearest distributor, see at \$1.00 and free.

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These findings suggest that the results of the

[illegible]

—higher means good thought and good conduct. True patriotism also means good thought and good conduct. It is not a subconscious impulse, but conscious thought and action. But if the Congress is ever faced in its history with a situation based on considerations of expediency, then I do trust the first does not stand; the second is in order; however that the Congress will never be faced with a situation demanding a conscious decision of should we be guided in such questions by Millard's, White and others who will have faith in my inflexible advice. I for one would welcome the Congress, meeting with Millard, White, Ford, Cleveland, finally finds out that that it should be in my view, a national organization, but not who has the right of decision in how this nation the Congress. It has the right democratic franchise. Its duty is ever open to those who would serve. Let all join it and make it a mighty instrument for making Complete Independence for the present, the nearest and the most desirable. I must state the consideration of other considerations and the other parties relating to the remarkable Congress to a future time, if not the next.

Public Finance and Our Poverty

(By J. C. Chatterjee, M. A., B. A., LL. B.)

CHAPTER V (Contd.) Land Revenue

It is not within the scope of this essay to examine the numerous and much debated propositions whether this revenue is a tax or a rent. After surveying the past and one of the questions in his monumental work, *The Land Systems of British India Under British Rule*,¹ "The land revenue system must then be considered as a rent,"² and adds: "I should be inclined to regard the charge as more in the nature of a tax or a contribution, because" "Whatever it is," as John Huggins says,³ as Mr. Parnall Land Tax on India, "We have lost our direction, and that is to acknowledge as the first place the history of that doctrine which declares it right to take the whole surplus profit from the landholder and to appropriate the opposite measure, that the more which is left in his hands the greater will be his means to contribute to the national wealth and consequently to the public services." To argue that because the rent continues to pay income and still collection, and, therefore, the revenue he pays should be differential tax, is to assume the existence of that myth—the landless man. The important question is maintained when the only alternative the rent has is starvation. If he had several options and if he continued to be a holder of property, income and doing the land only then will the system carry some weight, and not when he is a landless labourer. There who have the people of India know that there is now little mobility in the population. The farmer is firmly attached to his locality and his means is not going to draw him away from the land of his forefathers. The resistance to change is great, and even in the latter half of nineteenth century which he could trace, having been the only alternative of paying the tax and being content with one meal a day. Perhaps Mr. Huggins is right when he⁴ describes that as a

"descent toward the star system Government on land according to well understood and all defined limits."

The method of revenue was different as stated in the various parts of the empire, but as a rule the amount to be paid by the ryot himself is fixed in terms of money. It is estimated on the expected yield and holds good for a long period of years, about 10 years. It bears no relation to the actual production or price at the end of the year, so that in bad years the farmers in forced into hands of the moneylenders in order to pay the tax which averages about 10% of the estimated cost of the land. Although the British claim that they are only following the precedents set up by the Moghuls, they have forgotten that those measures were never prevalent at an earlier stage of the country's history, as a war measure. To postpone a temporary heavy tax in to till all progress. Apart from this the Moghuls had great means of either paying in money or contributing a share of the yield in kind. This applied the applied subversion and in addition to that, it was a benevolent Government which allowed under trying conditions, but it did not, it was nevertheless. The British Government, on the other hand, is a bureaucracy which business with the production of a machine and almost as ruthlessly as it has earlier a heavy tax as well. As the peasant in kind would have the occasional success in raising the value of the produce brought in, the British Government without this burden and made payment in money obligatory. To obtain the necessary funds, the ryot was obliged to double the tax, independent of what he has paid or an already overvalued market and then was forced to borrow. This method of payment leads to great hardship on the peasants, and so has shown landlessness to the extent. There is no measure of subsistence allowed by and very often the tax is below the efficiency line, and becomes cumulative in its poverty production. Because the British dealing with the matter continues,⁵ but "The Government and the rigidity of payment, therefore, have undoubtedly tended to impoverish the people and a system of revenue collection thoroughly sound in theory, and meeting the requirements of impossible economic doctrine, has in practice become a general method of oppressing and the subject of irreparable attack."

Commenting on the chronic maladjustment of the ryot to "What is that says,"⁶ "I believe it may be stated definitely that the whole of present landlessness originates from the necessity thus imposed of finding cash to pay the land tax." "This is the last word which English administration has brought upon the Indian peasant."⁷ "We have given the ryot income from death by violence, but we have probably increased his danger of death by starvation. Consequently, however landless we have made to save the ryot from the clutches of the moneylender by the means of co-operative banks but the prevention has in doing the tax burden which is becoming too heavy. According to Prof. Radhakrishnan Mahapatra,⁸ "The main source of a third and a money amounting to 40% of gross produce and the interest on old debts at 25%, upon these sums of accumulated and without change in a bad year of starvation."

1 B. C. Dutt, *India and the Partition of India*, pp. 12, 13.

2 In *India Under British Rule*, vol. 1, p. 100.

3 J. C. Chatterjee, *The Government of India*, p. 121.

4 W. A. Smith, *India under English Rule*, pp. 124-5.

5 Radhakrishnan Mahapatra, *The Social Economy of India*, pp. 102.

1 J. C. Chatterjee, *The Land Systems of British India*, Vol. I, pp. 75-8.

2 Quoted in *India* by J. C. Chatterjee, *Land Revenue*, page 125.

3 J. C. Chatterjee, *The History of India*, page 121.

Exports

The picture usually as to country exports was, the day on imported goods being excluded under "exchange duty" India has all along been a dry country, but this there is a steadily growing tendency towards abolition, thanks to the policies followed by the Government in its experiments to attract foreign investments of humanitarian considerations. In the face of continued warnings by Indian leaders against the policy fiscal needs still outweigh social demands. Even when the Government makes a gesture of controlling consumption, hoards are left in which the bulk of the consumption of country goods is made up by an increase in the consumption of imported goods in the following passage¹ culled from the Bombay Presidency Administration Report 1941-42 onwards: "There has been, moreover, a considerable increase in the consumption of foreign spirit, beer and wine, and it is stated that beer is replacing country spirit to a considerable extent especially in large towns. From the foreign liquor the Government of Bombay derives but little revenue." A share of the blame for reduced efficiency and fall in production could easily be traced to this Government-sponsored and encouraged luxury.

Finance

The policies of the Government in regard to credit are liberalised and started out with a great deal of credit generally, yet in its enforcement we perceive the same harsh treatment of the poor and an alien lack of consideration for their needs. "The modern approach seems to have been needlessly violent and most injurious to the people," says Mahatma. "The effect, in my view, has been disastrous. The freedom of money largely used as fuel for inflation and the supply is now cut off. The pressure has been increased and the credit is drying up faster. When credit has been free from these considerations, as much a loan was had as the need." These accommodations, however small they may appear to be, all gather force as they are accumulated and added production to an unending degree.

Railways

While we were dealing with expenditures we noted the effort to economise rates had to the detriment of industries. Here it remains for us to consider the influence of the railways on the production of the masses. When development of transportation keeps pace with the material demands, railways do not, till the carrying trade of the poor. Indeed, in the U. S. A. the transportation trade becomes the backbone themselves. But in India, where the carrying trade was not sufficient to absorb all these forms of transport, the railways have displaced the bullock cart, and the cart owner has been given no other means of widening his sale and effect. Indian economic order is very peculiarly dependent on the direct produce of the country. Owing to the meagreness for labour can only work in the land during certain seasons, and at that time he uses his bullocks for ploughing, making water etc., and when that season is over, he yields his bullocks to the cart and uses a bullockless or a cartless. While the

interest of the nation, the latter arrangement has been taken away from him, and now for a large portion of the year both he and his bullocks produce nothing and live out of employment. It is not here implied that the railways are as bad as themselves, but only that nothing has been found to take the place displaced by their coming, and circumstances have forced us in the interim a period of famine which he could ill afford. Hence production is low and the farmer is poorer.

The railways themselves are operated on the principle of Profit, but since the Government needs the money, but it should first prove all interventions in industry and establishment, and then discuss such matters as will not affect the production of the people adversely.

Irrigation

There is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, need of India. Even if India had fertile and abundant and a sufficient of employment for all, yet the farmer will have starvation if water is not harnessed and made to yield his supply of water where and when needed. Although the Government is capable, along the country as a whole, yet it is not dependable when an immediate need arises of the land. Hence from time immemorial irrigation has been one of the chief business of Government. Private philanthropy made wells and built village tanks, while Government constructed dams to harness the rivers and made to distribute the much sought element. Under the British regime railways have been the backbone, and irrigation had to be carried with occasional losses, with the result that even today the irrigated area is dependent on private effort and nearly individual effort at that. It is only since the beginning of this century, that a definite policy is discernible in regard to irrigation, but it still remains carried by financial expediency—rather than being motivated by the claims of agriculture, i. e., it does not get the precedence as importance as other other forms of expenditures.

Interest

An analysis of the data showing the following sources of income:

In India	Loans to Corporations, State etc.	237
	Hardware, Loans & Privileges	47
	Cultivators	11
	Bankers	94
		— 120
In England		237
		—
	Loans of export	528

An usual with Government collection further information on exports rates of interests etc. is lacking. Assuming that there were no interest from state or less uniform rates of interest, we can present that practically half the available funds are borrowed in England where Indian industries are being starved for lack of capital, and even the available part the loans coming only from a meagre 24 of the available Indian funds in the hands of the Government. A few months ago Sir Samuel Hoagland and Finance, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, addressing a group of young men at a college in Poona, said, "Several young men of this part of the country

1. Bombay Presidency Administration Report, Part I, page 271-272.
L. W. S. Ghosh, India under Report, page 281-2.

L. W. S. Ghosh, Many years of Indian Finance, page 10.
L. W. S. Ghosh, Many years of Indian Finance, page 10.
Report Economic Council, No. 27, September 1938, page 42.

The higher and lower (1925-1926) and were reduced to 100 and 10000. The same scale used here for Disinfection is to take 1000 and 10000 as marks of an effective disinfectant.

"I am anxious to reach the end of an era through inter-colonial and inter-Indian relations. To reach it, I have selected the path of non-violence and truth. I have spent my whole life in the supremacy of non-violence and truth. I know, that however long the road may appear, it is a very definite and shorted."

'Effect of Propaganda'

[I take the following interesting paragraph from the report of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee presented to the Congress.]

"It is desirable to form an idea of the effect of this year's propaganda on the consumption of foreign cloth in the country for the period during which Congress kept up the boycott programme. It is, impossible, however, to know by how much the estimated sales of foreign cloth within India have been affected. One reliable index of the effect of the propaganda is the exports of foreign cloth at the various ports of India. The boycott propaganda secured a reduction from the months of February and March 1929, and an order placed by India, with foreign exporters stating that about 1 or 2 months before they are received, the proper way to measure the effect of the country's efforts since February will be to calculate the fall in the exports of foreign cloth from May, 1929, as compared with the previous year. The latest figures available are those upto October 1929. The following table gives the figures of exports of all kinds of textile fabrics and yarn, between May, and October of each of the undermentioned years.

Value of goods and textile fabrics (in lakhs of rupees)

1928	1929	1928	1927	1928	1929
47.46	35.02	93.00	46.25	29.37	14.15

"The result of the comparison between the figures of 1929 and the earlier years, indicating the net effect of the boycott in operation during the above-mentioned six months, is given hereunder.

	Extent of reduction at 1929	Percentage of reduction at 1929
Compared with the average of 1925-1926	4.39 lakhs	14.77
Compared with 1928	4.26 lakhs	18.12

Taking then all kinds of fibres and yarns—cotton, woolen, silk and mixed—the fall in the exports during the months of May, to October 1929 is compared with the same period of the year just been nearly 41 crores rupees, and as compared with the average of the last five years, is over 2 crores. Taking, however, only cotton paragraphs, the figures in lakhs of rupees are as under:

1924	1925	1928	1927	1928	1929
14.11	20.22	39.42	27.1	25.23	11.28

"The result of the comparison between the figures of 1929 and the earlier years, indicating the net effect of the boycott in operation during the above-mentioned six months, is given hereunder:

	Extent of reduction at 1929	Percentage of reduction at 1929
Compared with the average of 1925 to 1926	4.94 lakhs	17.27
Compared with 1928	2.46 lakhs	9.42

"The above table shows that there has been a fall of 24 crores of rupees in cotton paragraphs during the last six months.

"It is of course true, that every factory has endeavored to reduce the exports of foreign cloth during this year, but the comments on the Lancashire manufacturing works on the condition of Lancashire trade with India clearly show that the boycott movement has a share in reducing the exportation of foreign cloth in India.

Sales of Khadi

"The progress of the boycott movement can also be estimated to some extent by the figures of the consumption of Khadi. The A. L. S. A. has thus far also very kindly furnished the Committee with the figures of the sale of Khadi during this and the preceding years. The following table shows the condition now in the sales of Khadi during the year October 1929 to September 1929.

1927-1928	1928-1929
Rs. 12,29,304	Rs. 49,84,176
The increase of sales between 1927-28 and 1928-29 28.85	

"The following table gives the sales of Khadi during the preceding years:

1923-1924	Rs. 25,89,143
1924-1925	Rs. 26,84,764
1925-1926	Rs. 25,25,334

"These while the total sales of Khadi were more or less in the neighborhood of 26 lakhs during each of the years from 1923-24 to 1925-26, they have jumped up to nearly half a crore during the current year.

"The sales of Khadi during the period of March to September 1929 and 1928 were as under:

	1928	1929
March	Rs. 1,64,871	Rs. 4,71,329
April	Rs. 1,28,349	Rs. 4,89,731
May	Rs. 2,09,431	Rs. 5,71,618
June	Rs. 2,38,719	Rs. 5,86,179
July	Rs. 2,64,341	Rs. 5,53,656
August	Rs. 2,45,076	Rs. 5,76,683
September	Rs. 2,19,969	Rs. 4,91,113
Total	Rs. 12,34,176	Rs. 32,75,345

"Thus while the sales of Khadi during the above period were about 12 lakhs of rupees in 1928, they rose to about 32 lakhs of rupees in the current year, the increase being to the extent of 64 per cent.

"The production of Khadi has increased in the following manner:

1923-24	Rs. 21,34,070
1924-25	Rs. 21,86,176
1925-26	Rs. 21,16,140
1926-27	Rs. 21,84,322

The production was about 20 lakhs in each of the years from 1923-24 to 1925-26 and in the current year it has risen to nearly 32 lakhs, that is an increase of

1935. It is understood that the British propaganda began to have effect on the opinion of the world in the month of April. The production during the months of 1934 in September 1935 exceeded the production during the same period of the previous year as shown by the following table:

	1934	1935
April	Rs. 1,54,768	Rs. 2,17,714
May	1,84,865	2,07,589
June	1,90,085	2,23,681
July	2,51,553	3,29,371
August	2,08,478	2,50,176
September	2,44,881	3,68,657

Total Rs. 13,16,416 Rs. 16,38,677

The increase in the production of India during the above months of consecutive export was due to the extent of over $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of rupees, i.e., 50%. The various tables given above indicate the increase of the exports of foreign cloth and the production and shipment of khadi during the current year.

Public Finance and Our Poverty

[Dr. C. J. GUNDELL, M.A., F.R.S.E.]

CHAPTER VI

Summary

History teaches us, that when a great empire disintegrates, there is usually a scramble amongst the ambitious ones to seize other power day after day. The British East India Company, which was a profit-making enterprise, availed itself of the opportunity and reached the heights of the Empires at Delhi. Perhaps away to the preceding unaided equilibria of the time, in the east of which when the Moghul Empire came tottering down and in the treasury of the last of the Great Moghals, the loss was heavy to India and the economic state of the country was in a lurch. With less British loyalty to preserve the appearance of a more or less peaceful state. With the added rigour of legislation and strict administration these latter times in the very same province brought in considerably more revenue than they did under the Moghals. It was not a 'monopoly' then, but a more, better, business proposition of capitalism. This idea is of much later growth and came in as a rationalisation to patch the British hold on India. In the early days of British domination, 'Anglo-Business' such as Clive and Warren Hastings, except the creation of all the wealth they could lay hands on. This provided the British with the millions that were necessary to capture the advantages of no taxes of stamp paper etc., and as a large measure gave the lead to the 'Industrial Revolution' of Europe. What was the gain of Europe in general and of England in particular was India lost, and started the downward slum in the economic history of that country. It was her to be expected that England should better her best, and she did it very well. The East India Company was partly a commercial concern in its make up, and it would be fully to look for any compensation for the development of India in its policies. Like all other private enterprises the outside was concentrated mainly by immediate gains rather than to a long term view of affairs. India's interests, if they were recognised at all, were subordinated to England's bid for the economic

supremacy of the world. The company provided the shipping means and the means of commerce, but were not the goods. The goods in the commercial picture were often introduced by and exported by some other enterprise. Whether in, for instance, the shipping of the goods they were bought, or in the sale of the goods in the market, the company was not the mainstay of the trade of the Moghul Empire was followed by a rapid disintegration gathering momentum from the policies of the above order.

Protection was given up in England, and India was used as a plantation to feed these factories with the requisite raw materials. England and India formed a virtual industrial unit controlled by financiers in England. The Indian's part in it was not to remain why, there was but to do and die! Such were the losses which surrounded the trade with India. Mr. MacDonald while pointing out the results of the policies of Government have pointed to be correct in its interests of India, pleads that that does not exhaust that the Indians was not satisfied with it, but attributes it to the fact that the Government had 'lapsed to believe in principles of International Trade which coincided with European interests.' This also was the justification of the situation with the result of an error of judgment of one individual as of more a generation of statesmen, but when we find it has been followed decade after decade by several generations, to quote Mr. MacDonald his contention would be tantamount to calling into question the intelligence of the last products of British education from whom the Indian division is gained. The latter proposition—doubling the intelligence of the Indian empire—a leader in almost that the Indians—that these measures were essential to India's interest—which not only means business,—to consider the interests of one's own country first—but as a defence from across moral over a century. When we remember that during all this period the Indian leaders were consistently pointing out the evil effects the policy of Government was having it is too great a doubt on our credulity to ask us to believe that the Government's policy was pursued quite unopposedly by, well meaning but stupid, rulers.

Railways were developed to carry out the schemes, and Government taxes supplemented the tariff, and all worked harmoniously but for the discordant notes struck by the 'disappointed capitalists' in India and by their 'disfranchised' opponents in England. In the main, the expansionist policy of the East India Company was continued when the British Crown assumed responsibility for India, although it was no longer a licensed commercial concern but was limited by, lengthening examples of British Administration, but these 'errors' also had not the aim of moral repression only based on the aim of hungry imperialism.

With such political and historical background it is easy to understand the direct policies followed. India was made to pay as much as possible in taxes for its India as was necessary to keep up appearances of exchange. Indeed, as time has gone on it, India was made 'taxed'—taxed on the trade profits of goods in transit through and taxed also on the protection of taxes at high market values. The colonial hand set up has not been too calculated to induce the productivity of

[Continued on page 16]

"He was not going to say what the Post would say, but was again apologising for seeming to defend the ministers. I drove close to him. He was a fine young man. He had said not a word during the whole of the session, in Delhi, either about Chaitrali or the Pandit Lala Gopal, who he was quoted as the guru and leading demonstration. So I said to him, 'Don't think I am oversteering. I shouldn't have spoken to you, had you not asked me. But now that you have drawn me out, I say, don't trust Chaitrali what I have said to you. And as regards Chaitrali, study the history, all recent events in other countries, and realise for yourself that ultimately the conflict of recent times had its cause in great. You yourself admit that violence never, anywhere and on a large scale is responsible in the country. Think then, I say that all other violence is certainly futile and suicidal.'"

M. D.

Public Finance and Our Poverty

(Continued from page 18)

the people of the land. For, their incomes have been sunk in day and expenditure which had very little value in adding the production of the masses, while other forms of developmental expenditure which were essential to promote the welfare of the country were almost 'balance' leading expenses have received hardly any attention, while Finance leading schemes have started dry all available resources. In the words of Mr Macdonald, "we spend for one sixth of the income of India on Imperial payments and for two thirds on India development." The elements of the ruling class have made available the rights of the suffering masses.

The resources we collected in India had a large part as spent on England. "When" all is said and done and a balance of 'reducing and development' stands, I think there can be no doubt, that India suffers greatly because so much of its national wealth is spent and frittered outside India," says Macdonald.

While the resources are channelled from the poor, they are utilised in keeping up the prestige of the foreign ruler. "Agree to one the most glaring facts?" Indian resources have always been taken far too much from the poor, and the rich have got off too lightly. "In A Golden Street." "The economy of the middle and upper classes have been the cause of the public burden . . . a precious flow on our India where economy which rapidly calls for control." The poor man's wages, moved by giving up everything, food, help to maintain the luxury of the rich, thus resulting in a loss of "material utility in the air boats and up of the National Income by the Finance, finding with food revenue short." "The Government expenditure does not leave enough food for the individual to support himself and family throughout the year."

It may be asked, Why should the Government use the poor heavily and let the well-to-do classes pay comparatively little? It has been suggested, that it is a degeneration in favour of the Ministers, as all Ministers in India, practically without exception, fall into such a class. There is nothing sacred in that question."

wealth transfer up. "and in India, the rich are planning to build a world, supplying the poor more difficultly instead. That is also a degeneration. The British Government in India is the only Government without tax, even by the Government. "I think, more the people of the land. It is not the people and support of at least some of the people. The various of the population, where finally is more working and where power and influence counts more, especially in a democracy, is that educated upper layer which loves the economic democracy, and it is the group which is glorified by the tax system. It also suggests that the interests of the class are closely intertwined with the interests of the Government and they possess, against the interests that may affect their interests, the far more effective in Government circles."

The expenses of an alien Government are always increased by extravagance which do not even make a national Government. The welfare, to which Government has to depend on a majority, making more which must be maintained during peace and war. Only a national government can keep expenditures down by supporting a community with regular taxes, and depending on the national interest for its consumption.

The expenses often advanced as an excuse to justify the ruling class interests, the obligations of the Government of the people, the maintenance of its resources, may be as capable of reducing wages to the workers as one of a strike or a strike and it is not more logical when methods of increasing incomes are ignored, private income and public income, and original work is applied in industry, process and not adequately, owing to a lack of scientific research facilities, such high social order cannot maintain equality to the mass. First as a means of transport "In A Golden Street." "My great point is, when India needs a water transport, that railways have neglected, failed, this cannot carry at the price required . . . China had much more and kept red and right that of the railways that would carry two quarters of personal goods and at the same time."

Macdonald Williams put his finger on the spot when he said? "The real truth is, that the underdeveloped country of India must prosper from the back, but the country is not organized for the production of wealth. The following paragraph" of J. A. Williams explains us with a reason why India is not so organized. "The western western world is coming more and more to be a practical colony, political and economic, and its institutions and theories, upon a whole organization of the lower and backward people, imperialism is declining, or at present is declining, class inequality, and is creating an underclass and a middle underclass, the needs of the new social character. It is a social process and a social system in which nations where nations may at present the means of their livelihood, be nearly dependent upon the labour of impoverished lower people in various distant parts of the globe, all or many members of the dominant people enjoying a life of comparative pleasure and leisure, and a collection mass of personal superiority in the values of the world. "In

1. In Macdonald's *The Economy of India*, page 100.

2. In Macdonald's *The Economy of India*, page 100.

3. *Ibid*, page 100.

4. Quoted in J. A. Williams, *India and the World*, page 100.

5. Quoted by J. A. Williams, *India and the World*, page 100.

1. Quoted in J. A. Williams, *India and the World*, page 100.

2. Macdonald Williams, *India and the World*, page 100.

3. J. A. Williams, *India and the World*, page 100.

No. 4

[illegible]

will go through. It is as long as you have your good
relationship with you. I hope you will hold the great
renewal I desire from you. Let us not think of making
a political point of question and other discomforts, but
willingly accept the struggle, and resolve of quest
- that work. It is not here more necessary that we do
- the > It is there at the moment. I feel, despite
the influence of it all around you and I say you. I
live on faith in many circumstances. Let us not
and still, but live. Faith is a great work. Faith is a terrible
language and I hope. Faith will take many of death
and life, try and spend through the country, through
a great way to small and wonderful. Let us not
be not like the ones and others the ones to be served
and

10

Public Finance and Our Parents

18. *For example, see* <http://www.fda.gov/oc/ohrt/>.

PIRELLA GÖTTSCHE LOWE

1000

After considering the ways and means of alleviating the poverty of the masses, W. S. West suggests: "I do not believe in legislative remedies for the starvation of the poor or in the possibility of achieving his position stated in the creation of extensive too strongly represented both in London and in London to be reached, with any chance of success. Further, our legislation, in the state of all the evil, was made that is put upon a sound footing the rest is of no real value. The time to come using the poor man's eyes and replace it by demand from outgroup, under account, and certainly especially, India's financial relations to the Empire. If the Empire would realize the burden which it imposes upon India's Finances and if that were done and nothing more, the Indian Government could certainly grant reforms which would improve Indian society." (1912) "The Record"

The long on human nature is, when it is, India's future must be moulded in its own India's mode and the powers that be are guided by its nature which we associate with India's nature. Therefore it is the nation will increase production and expenditure. While greater nations what industrial, after the second two stages of the nation's growth, the nation is the growing nation are not called upon to support an industrial and economic infrastructure, which is a state with their future with the knowledge of India are much to increase their the share of the burden of administration, when India's resources are spent in such ways as to bring full release to the people when Government undertakings needed by the poor are opposed on the principle of service, and the character, character do not run counter to those of national interest when the phase of administration is determined by, the state of India that and then only can India be expected to prosper economically, and the nation be said India may, social problems.

Abstract

A Monument of Hindu-Muslim Unity

French Type System, of "System" is represented by foreign influences as a French who represented his French subjects and organized them in labor by force. But in the writing of the kind. On the other hand, his relations with his French subjects were of a perfectly civilized nature. And it is a very pleasant detail upon these in a time when Hodge and Montanari all abide him of the presence of the "man" who has been "we" ready in his own words, "strong and true" by the point of their meeting. The great Nation's prime minister was a French subject of acknowledged with whom, but they are about lower of "Independence" and the hands of the country. The Anthropological Department of Mexico State is a possession of our State's history written by Type in the Smithsonian, of Chicago, Mich. The letters are written in the French language. Type was an absolute monarch, but even then to not only never so much as threat of compulsion. These letters in keep their interests in the French camp, but he did not moralizing; letters written in the national language and the national scope. In one of the letters written in the Smithsonian, in 1894 Type acknowledges receipt of the Smithsonian's letter and request him to publish Japan's "The" to Hodge and Montanari. Acknowledged and to offer prayers for the welfare and prosperity of his own nation for that of the whole universe, and finally he asks the Smithsonian to return to America, for the presence of good men in a country brings down into and makes her good culture and plenty. This letter deserves to be printed in letters of gold in every history of India, but no spring, good themselves be offered for reproduction in American literature. The original French which a full of French words, copies of these letters have been made in full by

[illegible]

Togo made great gifts of land and other things to Hindu temples, and temples dedicated to Shiva, Vishnu, Brahma, Shakti and Bhairavaguru and located in the vicinity of Togo's palace still bear testimony to his benevolent intentions, and evidence that this great monarch was wise—in that he had always had men as the cause of wars—was not destroyed in his property by the Hindu bells calling people to worship the same Allah whose deities he was. Togo died fighting for liberty, leaving with everyone the impression that he should remember to be happy. When Togo's corpse was cremated later among the bonfire of 'Indians' soldiers' wives and he really heard

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11. J. J. O'Connell, *Journal of Polymer Science*, **1**, 103 (1946).

Clearing the issue



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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 5

'Cat and Mouse'

Dear Youngest Gandhi,

I agree entirely with you in recognising, that unless the phantom enemy, which goes by the name of the world, is slain, we cannot all the so-called nations come to rest at the principal causes of modern war. This enemy was even one of the essential causes of the World War. Moreover, those other two were slain, on the contrary of which we exchanged terms, presented its aggressive character. But also I do not explain of your period since in those were necessary one has and two.

It was then, the fact, that you declare yourself unable, "in any conceivable circumstances," to participate in British war, is a real step forward. As I have already said, you and the millions who are with you could become (unless your youth interferes some reason should arise) a factor for world peace of the highest importance.

But on the other hand, your question, almost eloquently, that you will never take part in an action which "out of explanation" entered upon by us India eventually too, does not seem to offer sufficient security for the future. This sentence does it perhaps, proceed from the fact that you were thinking of us India which, as a Dominion, would be obliged to certain circumstances slightly put in several countries of the Empire and to essential weakness of the League of Nations?

I repeat, my dear friend do not concern your relative position in regard to the violent struggle for freedom. But they are asked only in the last, that you also, personally, uphold a more violent form of struggle and who from several points of view have earned and this struggle under the leadership of the British Empire, are at the same time morally increasing the independence of your own country under their support, it, and that at a time when any national movement began to be a means for the whole of humanity. My objection therefore is directed against your collaboration in the preparation of a national Indian State proposed on the same basis as the Western States in which according to the supplementary report of the Imperial War Commission, published in the Indian Parliament of the 1st December 1918, that would include a Committee of Defence formed by the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the Commander of the Air Force, the Commander of the Naval Force and the Chief of the General Staff, while the Head of the Government, in the event of India being attacked, or if he should

consider it as the action of an aggression, will have the right to make what money he will consider necessary for the security of India, or of any part of it."

It seems to me, that in doing so, India is different danger from England, you put too much confidence in measures of bourgeois policy, and that you participate in the significance of a form of Government which we only will approve the great masses of your people, but at the same time might become a danger for the evolution of world history. That status of Dominion, in the realization of which you are today directing all your strength, is a political institution which will inevitably be used against the great masses of the population of your own country by the dominant Indian classes, which will become more and more allied with the dominant foreign classes. And the military establishment and armed resources, for which your country is going also in India, this proceeding will further the world competition in armaments.

The statement made at the President Conference on Modern War Methods and the Promotion of Civil Population have just been published. More clearly than ever they show that all technique and science are today being devoted to the first place towards collective destruction and murder. This Conference has shown that war has become a method of struggle spreading in such a fatal manner, from the mind as well as from the physical point of view, that it must be definitely not only for national defence, but also for the salvation of the world revolution. Not to advance further on this point, I beg you to refer to the speech of Arthur Miller-Lindberg and to my own, delivered at the World Congress against Imperialism in Frankfurt. We have now reached a dangerous moment in history, when the question is to find a small conscious powerful group of men and women who can declare unambiguously "to be so, we refuse, in all cases, to prepare or to employ any means of war, and we seek to reduce troops and more than preparation and their employment. Strictly speaking, we prefer even to live our national independence—autonomous which, moreover, is today becoming more and more difficult,—rather than submission of by such means."

A Committee of Defence Methods of Defence that is proposed in the event of direct aggression to India or upon the only subject that there is a reasonable apprehension of such aggression, do not see us, all that is concerned from Western States, who, in order to tranquillize public opinion, are in fact trying to speak of "security of India," and where one declares the intention of only deterring oneself against aggression or against that which is considered as aggression.

Could we not, gentlemen, suggest a School? It would collect, to the satisfaction of both of growing international and regional groups, the young and able officers, technical men, engineers, lawyers, doctors, doctors of divinity, etc., and then train them from the political and economic points of view, either within the boundaries of India, or in some neutral place, or in any of the great foreign lands, as soon as it begins to develop an industry, now taking shape immediately after the national power leaves the country, which naturally will place heavy stress upon the need of more than people. Modern capitalism, which today advances almost the whole world in a leading increasingly material, a universal development. This can only be achieved and eventually reached if we create around it a united international front, formed of all races and all peoples, which would fight, not for one of them, selected or selected not, but for the redemption of a universal and representative community. Today, all our modern capitalist people are such as differentiated, not only from the national but also from the moral power of race, although from the structural point of view it will be united and world capitalism. In fact, national war is becoming more and more transformed into a struggle of classes and races, embracing the whole world. It is for us now to fight on the most honest and the most honest ground for our own liberation and for that of all classes and of all oppressed races.

If we can believe that you, President Gandhi, have been at all unconvinced your campaign is too one-sided a manner you have missed of today into consideration, in the first place, the whole of humanity is today, everywhere, one people also from now, and the only an equal and only the contemporary, you might as well go to sleep to sleep "people people" in the whole world, only because you have not raised your voice in favour of the universal industry. All other is opposite to what you, a poor capitalist from several points of view because we ourselves are against you, not only Governments but the liberation of the coloured races. Now we are at the greatest moment here the country, selected by the coloured people, has such great men it is unfortunate as you are of an oppressed racial nation! But when you campaign, or while in jail, lead you to make use of methods which have a most dangerous tendency, we must be creative against it. And when, moreover, you are trying to make a national idea (like you have been) "highly" during the British war of exploitation, is open of hand, we can only say the "Things have not happened then, for (as yourself) we are all those who have consciously refused India to participate in such war and because of that you also must have the full responsibility for it.

On just why did you that those who are there when you? Gandhi, even now, nevertheless, were which we said to you that we are and the experience of the coloured people. This is more true, in fact, not only in the world but also in the only something very relevant and it would go on increasing. But in no case, we have found clear and sufficient grounds for these elements of about personal participation in war and in its moral and moral properties. The record of an empire will also mean of fighting against it if it is to become, in the final movement of the Third, advancing down and under military service, which are aware of its experience both men and women the loss of their moral position and respect for others all sorts of indifference to the French Action, began in England and spreading widely throughout Germany—and there are still others. However, a few of us have already decided individually in relation to pay any more, while the experience of which I was a member has already several times been the propagandist of collective refusal of service. But whereas refusal, even in a very restricted sense, in the military service has been widely and widely effective, the refusal to pay more by a restricted number of citizens will be so far from very little more, as the substance of reinforcing property and education laws, and possession of some such limit that a direct payment of taxes would have brought them. From this point of view, your campaign have already given some suggestive examples of collective refusal, although they also were not able to avoid the regular exactions of the Government.

However it may be, in the struggle against the oppression of the coloured races, we are at our work, and I am leading to an organisation which has participated in this struggle already since the beginning of the century (1904). We are endeavouring to do this, as far as possible with the wisdom of "not and reason" relating between the different races of humanity, without, however, seeking to replace them by the children of the land and the. This is why we are only about to select Hindustani amongst our own people and race but we also select other peoples and races who are not themselves more but moral beings, not in fact themselves, but selected by nature, but in spite of this, higher forms of conduct which, for centuries past have been recommended on moral grounds by the most authentic representatives of humanity, and the practical application of which you yourself in particular have brought us.

In the very experience of a Great Britain which from a moral point of view, it seems to me that you would prefer this representation more by asking with the moral material of the British was created, instead of trying for relations from a so-called national Government which is, inevitably, condemned to play a kind, poisoned role in the international competition, these new type will already have existed here, under MacDonald, Wilson, the promotion of your campaign who are fighting for their rights and their existence. However, it might say to the women in which you speak to the British rulers and however, however, you perhaps to the race of those who inspire you, they will nevertheless only by in reality your people by an oppressed and defenceless nation.

I have estimated you too highly, "ventured Gaudin, to confess myself with steady taking note of your "unconscious weakness," as you so kindly propose that I should do, but what I have said up to now is to do it in spite of your argument by other arguments. It is in the chance that you may be able to circumvent attacks in this post and the present, that I have written to you, and that I do so again today. The life of the world has become such a war, that personal attacks cannot be really individual any more except from the point of view of the universal nature of all humanity. Thus, moreover, in the running up of everything that I have laid before you

Good-bye, then, to 1929, 1930.

B. de Ligt

Bombay's Milk Problem

and

B. B. and C. I. Railway

Bombay has a high ground level and a terrible unhealthy mosquito nuisance, and if there is one thing more than anything else which must be laid responsible for this, it is Bombay's general refusal to make a serious attempt to solve its milk problem. Its considerable improvement in the health of Bombay can be expected so long as it has not made a suitable or extensive plan and close work as a town that they are willing to pay. The milk supply of Bombay is general is not bad climatically and hygienically, as it is possible for it to be well over 100 miles with in Bombay at a price that has not exceeded all the world over. In India milk sells at not more than 20 paise per gallon, in London and New York it sells at about 25 cents per gallon, while in Bombay where it should be two or three times cheaper it sells at what is more a profit!

The reason for decrease of milk in Bombay was not given lately by Mr. Clayton, the late Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, whose words are no less true today than when they were first written (December 1924) and will therefore bear repetition. Read in

"The high price at which milk is being sold in Bombay at present and the increase in the price with which we are being threatened are entirely due to the faulty system of chaffing customers at the head of a big city.... The main causes of this high price of milk are (1) the steady feeding of animals and (2) the heavy depreciation in the actual cost of the animals.

"As regards the first, the milk cattle in Bombay are fed on highly nutritious and expensive foods in order to maintain them in good milking condition under the artificial conditions in which they are kept. This kind of feeding would not be necessary if they were kept in more natural surroundings. Another factor has to be brought in, as the city draws milk from areas where it is grown, and both the cost of transport and the cost of carrying it to a place like Bombay, where storage expenses are very high, add to the cost of feeding.

"The second and more important reason is the heavy depreciation in the actual cost of the animals. Under the present system, owing to various con-

ditions arising out of the artificial conditions under which the animals are kept in the city, the cattle owner has no other option but to sell his animal to the butcher when it gets old. The distance between the place he is reared in and the original price is very great, and this difference goes into the cost of the milk. This can be avoided if animals are kept under more natural conditions and given a chance to live active open and free and thus live. Of course, up to the actual cost of the milk animals imported into Bombay has increased considerably without a corresponding increase in the price fetched by the animals when they are sold. This is the main reason for the present high cost of milk, and unless measures are taken to do away entirely with the present city system, the danger of a further increase in the cost of milk will continue to exist.

"Apart from these local considerations, the probable danger of world war has brought to Bombay results in a constant drain on one of the actual resources of the country. Day for the coming years of town stills less of our valuable animals would find their way to the slaughter houses."

In milk in Bombay can be made much cheaper than it is now by increasing the facilities for the raising of milk from places outside the city. And the first step in this direction is that the B. B. and C. I. Railway should in respect of its rates for the carriage of milk at least come into a line with the East India and other railways serving Calcutta. Like the latter it should make a standing rate to allow one animal and a half of milk has twice a day to a third class passenger ticket or any less animals, and in place of the half passenger rate which it applies to milk at present, it should charge milk in same loaded under parcels at current rate at the following rates which have long since been adopted by the East India Railway.

Parcels	Rate per animal by milk to cost
R. & P.	
Not exceeding 25 miles	8 2 0
Exceeding 25 miles but not exceeding 50 miles	8 3 0
" 50 "	7 5 0
" 75 "	6 5 0
" 100 "	5 8 0
" 125 "	5 2 0
" 200 "	4 1 0

"The above 25 miles is paid divided as follows to the charge for 200 miles.

And the B. B. and C. I. Railway need not be afraid of a loss of income from these reduced rates, for instead of carrying 20,000 head of livestock to Bombay every year as it does at present, it will run a number of dairy cattle trains to Bombay from Peshawar and all animals from this point will easily be able to throw the present income from the traffic on livestock and timber. Let us hope that the Peshawar and all Lake cattle will have no difficulty in purchasing, via B. B. and C. I. Railway to reach consumers which is really possible.

V. G. D.

Young India

Clearing the Issue

(By M. N. Goenka)

"I have never sought to debate Indian opinion on the belief that a debate of purpose, however clearly stated, would be of use by the association of a phrase private a solution for problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realised. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms is of necessity a different thing from the real situation. No sensible traveller would feel that a clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey."

"But though the Conference cannot assume the duty that appertains to His Majesty's Government, it will be concerned for the purpose, hardly less important, of elucidating and harmonising opinion, and in effecting guidance to His Majesty's Government as to the responsibility and subsequently desirability of drafting proposals for the consideration of Parliament."

The foregoing words from His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the Assembly make it as clear as possible that Dominion Status was never to be the immediate objective of the proposed Round Table Conference. And why need any of us doubt that even Lord Bledsoe, who presided that Dominion Status was to be India's desired goal? When there is of course, a value difference not to dispute but as Lord Bledsoe said that difference is laid was discussed at the interview at Delhi, there was no meeting ground left between the Viceroy's statement and the Congress assembly. The Viceroy would not stand waiting for the grant of Dominion Status till every settlement was reduced to the level of a soap-seller getting seven paise per day. The Congress will insist, if it had the power, that every settlement passed in a state in which he may at least get a living wage equal to a millworker. And when the proposal is fully considered by a man of his insight and knows that it is not framed that has brought him to the interview table but the working rule, suggested he will in his experience shirk all distinctions between constitutional and unconstitutional state violence and non-violent means.

The Congress expects to make the proposal in the right direction.

The Viceroy's speech has cleared another thing. We now know why Sir John Simon has made the discovery that the question of Indian opinion should be made an integral part of his personal inquiry. A new question of the British Government exists there in British India, itself even at present, that way to be pursued in the game of explanation to be played at the Conference. The Conference must still ring with the name of Dominion Status whilst further progress will be sought to be brought upon the devoted heads of the suffering millions. Let those who wish give a game where one party plays with loaded dice.

The leadership is afflicted over the Congress resolution on financial obligations? Why? He is asked that the Congress has refused the maintenance of the

patrons or otherwise of these obligations in an expected refusal to it a union to question the propriety of some of these obligations? Lord Bledsoe's explanation that the most important resolution is typical of the British assembly. Thousands of Englishmen honestly believe, that all obligations, have been incurred voluntarily and for India's good, and that it is the height of ungratefulness were to suspect maintenance about any of the maintenance of the Secretary of State for India.

Parliament has been exclusively given a full speech to the unity which is impossible of full achievement so long as a foreign rule affects the varied interests and continuously or continuously place one against another for the purpose of perpetuating itself. The Congress is well out of the league. It was offered even to be a voluntary if need be. But the demonstration of this was an unimpeachable proof that the Congress will continue to be fully to rule the hearts of the masses. Thank God, they have unity in their statement. The Government is rightly concerned in the working of its duty of extending the last gasp from the proximity whether Hindu or Moslem or any other.

I make the same mistake, after having to look back that I had the honour of making in Lord Bledsoe. Let him and the British cabinet receive the following scheme:

1. Total population.
2. Reduction of the ratio to 1 : 4 : 4.
3. Reduction of the land revenue to at least 25% and making it subject to legislative control.
4. Abolition of the salt tax.
5. Reduction of the military expenditure to at least 20% in large work.
6. Reduction of the salaries of the higher grade services to one half or less or as to suit the national economy.
7. Protection tariff on foreign cloth.
8. The passage of the Central Trade Reservation Bill.
9. Discharge of all political prisoners were those condemned for murder or the attempt thereof by the ordinary political offences, equivalent of all political prisoners, directions of Section 124A, the Regulation of 1914 and the law, and prisoners to all the Indian states to 1938.
10. Abolition of C. I. D. or its popular control.
11. Issue of licences to use firearms for self-defence subject to popular control.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of pressing needs. But let the Viceroy satisfy these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then have no talk of self-maintenance, and the Congress will heartily participate in any Conference where there is perfect freedom of expression and demand.

Our demand is so far from unreasonable. The Congress is not fighting for a shikara. Hundreds of thousands of people do not gather to the central session of the Congress in order to secure independence in their hands, they gather in the hope that the glow of freedom, when it comes, will be like the rosy dawn of dawn. The greatest evil is undoubtedly the systematic process and the systematic denial of self-worth which the people experience in every walk of life. We are like Sir Shastree Chaudhary's girl whom, when released from any surroundings in which she was forcibly taken, she demanded Knight was looking about as a Panna road being led by her mistress to her domestic home. We refuse to be satisfied with the sky price, we would rather

into the dark mystery of posthumous freedom we can be released from the grinding oppression.

The dream of slow progress without social and moral revolvers, a safe and therefore unobtainable for. There is that a common between both. Both have avoided the end. They are not for suffering. Would that their means were also economic. Unfortunately in stead of being complementary, they are in some such after I have that the inevitable revolutionary the me implies the progress of the violent revolution. I wish the latter would rather stay, he impedes my progress more than I do his, and that I, being a Hindu, of left unchanged by him, am likely to make greater progress than he can ever hope to make. Let him realize this that he has never yet given me a full chance. Some of these we should have been used somewhat. I want full expression of his activity. If it will please him, I am free to admit that I stand him more than I dread Lord Irwin's wrath.

His Excellency the Viceroy deserves the thanks of every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere and let us know exactly where he and we stand.

Difficulty of France

(By H. K. GANDHI)

The reader should read this. It is Lord Irwin's stated objective in this case. I welcome the letter as it is a bold stroke in the field of violence. It is entitled to respectful consideration. And such friendly discussion leads to a clearer conception of the possibilities and limitations of non-violence.

In spite of the greatest effort to be detached, no man can altogether escape the effect of his environment as of his upbringing. Non-violence of two persons occupying different positions will not naturally take the same shape. Thus the non-violence of a child towards his father would take the shape of respect and voluntary submission in his violence when he faces his master. But if the child has lost his master the father's submission in the child's violence would be complete. The father would take the child to his house and unhesitatingly submit to the child's violence. In such case it is of course assumed that the moment and as an expression of the second situation. One who having submission as his lowest habit is violence out of policy is not truly non-violent and may even be a hypocrite of his habit his intention. It should also be remembered that non-violence comes into play only when it comes in contact with violence. One who refuses from violence when there is no occasion for it would be simply an inert and has no make for his future.

Domestic peace coming to be a factor, the peace moved from that company must also need not be discarded except to say that the suggestion by Lord of Dominion Status would have meant India then become an equal partner, instead of being ruled by it, dominating the foreign policy of Great Britain.

My general and hearty approval of the Nehru Report must not be taken as mere endorsement of every word of it. My approval need not carry endorsement of the constitutional proposals for the future governance of free India. My non-violence would prevent me from fighting my non-violence in the way concerns that must arise when India has become free. A true statement, however true, only

helps the present progress of non-violence. I know, however, that if I approve the struggle for freedom, I might have to give non-violent battle to my own conscience which may be as stubborn as that to which I am now engaged. But the military values now being considered by the great Indian leaders are highly likely to appear even to them to be wholly unnecessary, assuming that we have come to our own democratically through non-violent means differently chosen and used.

My collaboration with my conscience being confined to the leading of our children, those we would feel, and when we shall do after feeling them to more than they or I know.

It is possible to speculate whether Tolstoy in my place would have acted differently from me. It is enough for me to give the maximum to my friends in things, that is in one act of mine have I been consciously guilty of welcoming violence or encouraging my mind. Even the necessary endorsement of violent action by me, participation as the side of Britain in the First war and the First world war is recognition of the rational of non-violence of an inevitable attitude. That the participation was non-violence have been due to my weakness as spokesman of the working of the universal law of non-violence is quite possible. Only I had no conviction then, not have any now of such weakness as ignorance.

A non-violent man will instinctively prefer direct participation to indirect, as a system which is based on violence and to which he has to bring without any choice being left to him. I believe in a world which is partly based on violence. If I have only a choice between paying for the way of violence to kill my neighbours or to be a silent spectator, I would, as I must, conscientiously with my good, submit to a soldier in the hope of controlling the future of violence and end of eliminating my comrades.

National independence is not violence. It is an necessary an individual independence. But violence, if it is based on non-violence, may even be a means to the equal independence of the nation or the individual as the case may be. As with individual and national independence, so with the international. The legal system is equally moral. So since law of violence and law is law based. It has been well said that the universe is organized in the same. There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe.

Brugal Paradox

My congratulations to Sir Krishna Rao and his colleagues in the new system. Dismissal, too having shared to serve the country. Brugal may be not any more dominant and parties. The Brugal's history and self-interest are never more. The only way the country can stand to these circumstances is to fill the present to overthrow all the Government has a record of political progress. A few days ago occasionally obtained into the situation of the end stage which is to make such propositions impossible. That will only happen when either the British people have changed their viewpoint, or when we have, by filling the present honourably, made it possible to expose any more people. No government can people as prove, if the punishment does not show a single end from revealed effects.

H. K. G.

Forty Four Deaths

Sgt. Bhambhani, Chaturanga and Pankaj Bhambhani

Dead and on the killing of one

"Forty four deaths died on 'India,' returned West India. Did that, most commendation. Later follows."

I read the letter. But the broad advantage is enough to show that there is hardly any improvement upon the old system after the happening of the tragedy that took place not long ago regarding such attempts. The whole thing calls for a thorough investigation, and complete stopping of all business in the countries that were not for the lives of those who follow for them.

Local Boards

Dr. Sankar Chandra, a member of the Madras District Board and Pankaj Bhambhani, writer

"There of us who are still members of Local Boards have been usually thinking if we cannot help, so long as we are there, at least in the capacity of an atmosphere for civil disobedience through these bodies. I submit your advice of what I suggest before for your approval. You may not be aware perhaps that some of the local bodies of the provinces including ours, viz., the Madras District Board and the Pankaj Bhambhani, have passed resolutions for closing their offices and institutions in commemoration of the death anniversary of such great patriots as Mahatmas Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. The Government however now directs that we are not to do so because 'there is no clear idea of the propriety of such, in my humble opinion, is neither and neither—existing not only in the material and material respect but in the memory of the departed great.' A nation which has not learnt 'hard-working' can never be great, and if a body is to do so even in the year of grace 1930, it is doomed. My humble suggestion will be that it is up to all local bodies which have passed such resolutions to display the spirit and to stick to them and also to insist after before which have not yet done so, to follow out at once and to take all the consequences. At the worst, the Government may suggest or suspend them. That will rather prove a great lesson in that, by coming to a resolution of courage, we may begin civil disobedience in all such towns and boards.

"I would request you to give us a lead in this matter as early as possible, as persons, who were labourers in the past, Government, have been trying to please both masters—the people and the Government—by attempting the primary school holidays in such a way as to merge them, thus we long separately observed. I would say that a compromise with it. There can be no halfway house between truth and justice. Either we must stop the teaching system and abolish the holidays, or we must speak out fully."

I humbly submit, the suggestion made in this letter by Mr. Bhambhani regarding the suspension of school holidays is to the holders to be observed, and it would be no credit to the memory of departed patriots if a nation, state or the Government of any country under avert of another holiday. It is the right of every patriotic Bhambhani and Local or District Board to observe its own holidays.

M. K. G.

Independence Day

January 24th, 1930

All through the day of being proper and below, two pictures have stood before my mental eye

One India, the other England

India, once glorious and rich, now a mere ghost of her past self, powerless, starving, oppressed, led by hands and chains designed to favour the English, dressed in her new materials, with her cottage industries destroyed, and labouring under a hideously economic degradation and no a civilization.

And before my mind's eye spread out the scene looked through the village of India, with that sorrowful poverty. No not for the helpless victims, no hope for the aged, no work for the unemployed, no demand upon thousands of villages on schools for the little children, and all wasted away by the police, which does not protect but harasses.

I saw those countless houses without walls, without glass—no law, with which to punish even the poorest children, only a little money, a little food and bread and milk. I saw the starving cattle laid up by the cottage doors, and the weary, lagged men and women, with all their long years of mind overworked and broken.

These things I have also witnessed with my physical eyes. I have lived and worked in some extent amongst the peasants of India, and the mind has not been reflecting the memory of things seen.

And the other picture, England—proud in her glory and her resources. Queen of a vast empire, India, well fed, well educated, enriched by arms and defence designed to favour her people, but with the new materials of other lands, by which her huge industries are largely fed. With an army and police station of her own. Thus, some poverty and suffering show here and there, especially in the big industrial areas, but the State is ever striving to relieve distress.

And before my mind's eye spread out the smiling English countryside, with its happy peasantry. India not for the helpless, the aged, the sick and the unemployed. Education for every little child throughout the land, and all watched over by an invincible powerful police.

I saw those cheerful cottage houses with walls for the little ones, with clothes, pots and other law to contain the children. I saw the clean and healthy cows grazing in those the meadows at evening, and I saw the strong and healthy men and women.

Again I have witnessed these things with my physical eyes. I have lived and worked in some extent amongst the peasants of England, and the mind has not been reflecting the memory of things seen.

Oh! brothers of England and brothers of India who know the British occupation.

"Look here, upon this picture, and on that."

Have you not seen, did you not see?

Have you not heard that you had not?

Have you not intelligence that you understood not?

Alas! "There are more in mind as those who were"

the

But the hour has struck and your awakening is now at hand.

Nice

Congress Impressions

I propose, through him, to put down a few snippets out of the Congress. I have a vivid remembrance of an old half-breed man from Saint Helena in the U. P. who had come to see Gandhi at his room. He was, on the Independence Day, i. e., the 1st of January. Gandhi was not and without any ceremony he sat down in a room himself at the first place. So there is Swamy now, he sat down with you. "Now Mahatma's son accepted the job of Delhi and lost the leader for like 'Yogesh' really gone?" That was so low the whole manifestation of Swamy. The two states did not know that Pandit Jawaharlal did not believe in according a status, for the simple reason that he does not believe in large or power, but he does want a Swamy which can be personally shared with him by the person from Delhi.

But all sorts of news were, as usual, in the hand of Gandhi's camp. And it is one and there was the half-breed present from Delhi, at the same and there was an English graduate from Cambridge who had been with us for some time, specially come to India to see things for himself. "You will have a better opinion today, I daresay," he asked a friend in the camp. The friend did not see the point of the plan, and so the friend from Cambridge finished it for him. "Well, you have passed the Independent Revolution, and will might just repeat and have a last. But just see! How can I never see mind when I know that the Revolution means a big slice off our Empire?"

I do not know what thoughts stirred Jawaharlal's heart on the day the Revolution was passed. His eyes remained in work from morning until midnight and it was impossible for me to find a quiet chat with him. But he would be a fool who would judge of his feelings from the slight way in which he participated in the early morning celebration held by the volunteers and delegates some after the Revolution was passed. Perhaps some of them were connected with Delhi and believed me that the President who dropped and sang with them during the same celebration at midnight. But I who have known him for many years, most and have spent days and nights with him under prison walls think otherwise. He is too keen a man to require a consolation for the achievement. The words he addressed that will ever stay true were, "We may not be strong. . . . We must not wait. We are very conscious of our weakness and there is no looking in us of gods of strength. Our lot is not, best of all England, whether or whether the meaning or strength of our weakness. Specially with full knowledge of consequences, I hope, we shall take it, and there will be no turning back. The last however is day. Pandit Jawaharlal is on full of the joy of life that it manifests itself on all occasions. It was the other legs and feet sometimes freely during our days in Lucknow in 1931. He could not break any one going about with a deerskin bag or hat and cap. He could not break a sleeping man. "Gandhi is a straight and steady way," he would say to me. "There is no spring in your muscles, he would say to another and show him how to walk like a disciplined soldier in the army. It is this way he moves that

events have with a harmony and self-confidence which he can bring to bear on any task to which he is called. If the thing is done upon me, I will not worry, he had said to Gandhi when the latter pressed him to accept the presidency, and in spite of the most difficult time that he had to face, he did not only not seem to worry, but lived his life with a confidence and authority to be found only in men who have had long experience of the job.

Perhaps every one who attended the Lahore Congress must have realised, if he had not done so already, the wisdom of Gandhi's refusal to accept the presidency. "I must not leave the room of office, I shall gladly work as your clerk," he had said to Lohani when he hadly declined the offer of presidency, and he had added, "I did quite easily work at Calcutta without being president and I begin to do so at Lahore." And the words proved to be like a prophecy which was to come true. The task of drafting and moving every important resolution fell to him, as at Calcutta, and here as there he had a difficult task before him. One remembers here at Calcutta he tried his best to secure the acceptance of Swamy, to the Mohan Rajes, and here as during that night he was very tired and it was to accept amendments to the resolutions which though not against principle, were unnecessary and even unjustified. And after he had done so he was faced with a question which was as difficult as it was. Today he heard several responsible people going back on their pledged word, and found he was in a position to advise him to walk his hands off the offer. "I may not do so, he had then said with deep pain, 'I must see the thing through, though my heart is not in it, for I want my conscience to understand that it is a crime to go back on one's word of honour. At Lahore the situation was somewhat different. But the atmosphere was striking with violence. "But, said Gandhi, 'we took a solemn pledge at Calcutta, and the confidence of this pledge not having been met, the pledge must be fulfilled. We cannot have the nation to look Calcutta in the eyes of the world.'

He made a fervent appeal both to the Subsequent Committee and to the open meeting for discussing all divisions and dissent at least on what for the moment was the question of Swamy. He explained the distinction to be made between and here and before in the manner of him, troubled men.

Gandhi had fully weighed the pros and cons a few hours before he walked the same resolution, there was a little discussion on the camp which I remember for the benefit of the reader.

Q—Did you see that the atmosphere is waiting?
A—I see it well enough.

Q—And yet you must move the resolution?

A—I am sure. If we did not do so, no one would take us seriously, and our solemn resolution would be looked on as empty words.

Q—But what do you expect to be the result? Don't you think the situation could be dealt with more satisfactorily if we succeeded in going to the B. T. Conference?

A.—No. Nothing whatever can be lost, as the Viceroy has made no hint of it. And the sincerity of purpose that is most essential for the success of a campaign like this is wanting.

Q.—Then how shall civil disobedience under the circumstances?

A. The question and discussion are between us leaders. They do not affect the general state of the people in the country. They have not gone to go to the B. T. Conference. They have simply to fulfil the programme that is placed before them. If therefore we can place before them a well considered programme I have no doubt that they will rally to it.

* * * * *

Many things had happened in the Sub-Committee and later in the A. I. C. C. were explicable, but perhaps the most unfortunate part of the Congress proceedings was the debate on the resolution condemning the bank and boycotting the Viceroy and his party on their sugar crops, and the debate on the clause of appreciation of the Viceroy's services. Some of us were so very much possessed by antislavery anger, and some so much obsessed by an extremely complex, that we forgot the reluctance of our critics, and would not face the logical consequences of our creed. Gandhiji had thought that he could not have to make a speech on so obvious a resolution as that on the bank. But after he saw the powerful mood, he felt like warning from the open Congress the most elementary truth that we had forgotten.

"We are told that when people are surprised with the Congress do not surrender to our creed, we are in no way responsible. These people have no sense of the responsibility coming on their shoulders and of the great issues hanging to the Congress. We either claim to represent all races of our people or we do not, and if we do, as I think we do, then it is our duty to make ourselves responsible for anything that a single person may do or let us have no Hinduism. The attitude that some have been exhibiting is grossly at variance with our creed. We must understand that on the day we pledged ourselves to non-violence we assumed ourselves responsible for the life of every Englishman living in India. Every one of them is at our charge and we are trustees of their lives. Now before the Congress has I heard non-violence being interpreted as it was done today. I was deeply pained to be told that the Republicans would never release the young men whom it would manage. I do not think so. I know so many of them and I know they will not accept this position. But even if they should, how can we tolerate our duty claiming as we do to represent non-violence?"

* * * * *

The press in England and America seems to have been much more impressed by the Independent Hindustani than the press here, if not so in policy from the numerous misstatements coming to misrepresent Gandhiji and misrepresent either his views or those before Gandhiji had left London, an American press correspondent had made quotations from his paper to interview him on certain points. This surely is welcome to only as an indication of the frequency of requests to know things in England.

"What is the difference between the Non-cooperation movement of 1911 and the present movement?" the interviewers asked.

"The present movement is directed towards independence," said Gandhiji, "whereas that of 1911 was directed towards the reform of the Ruler and Empire wrong and the attainment of Swaraj within the Empire if possible and without if necessary. The boycott is confined this time only to the legislature, but civil disobedience including the sugar campaign is common to both, as also truth and non-violence."

"The civil disobedience will be of the British type?"

"You mean the Satyagraha of 1931? Yes, somewhat of that type, only in England the people fought for the reform of a specific local government."

"How about the other boycotts?"

"It may not be necessary to resort to them if we can place civil disobedience on a proper basis."

"What do you expect to succeed?"

"It is more than a human being can say."

But he had cleared the question of questions and he had.

"Assuming that there is a Great Charter given, would you call off civil disobedience?"

"I am trying to construct a plan whereby all our parties need take place by stages of our outside disturbance—a plan whereby civil disobedience does not start any go on without interruption until the goal is reached."

"Have you any such plan?"

"I have nothing concrete before my mind at the present moment. But I think it should not be responsible to devise such a plan. I am going to leave no stone unturned. It is likely that although one may win all the independence that it is humanly possible to do, an external war may start. The plan I am trying to do, not to prevent a disturbance, is one such an event happens."

"But supposing you are given violence?"

"Well, then, I shall have strength enough to wipe it out."

"But if you cannot kill upon a plan such as you are thinking of, what would you do?"

"If I do not succeed in securing such a formula, and if there is a recurrence of Great Charter, I should not hesitate to stop the movement."

M. D.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

Vol. XII

Ahmedabad Thursday, February 6, 1930

No. 6

The Issue

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I read in your special message of friendship to some of my Indian friends at the beginning of a year that wanted liberty to bring India and England even closer united. Perhaps you will imagine that I read the same message to a number of friends, the other people I find it difficult to write as every person differs as I should like to do.

Now I give of all, refer to the demands of the Lahore Congress, which was naturally apparent to my mind, you say "I want kindly say that I was disappointed at the decision not to come into the proposed Round Table Conference—disappointed, but kindly surprised. When I read that the Congress had been presided by two 'persuasive agents,' I realised that though the hour under the Assembly's hand might not have created the Conference, some effort was determined to do so and I was that if that was the word of the Government, they could hardly expect the Congress to behave as the 'new spirit' of which Mr. Gandhi then had spoken. This made me at once to the thing I most want to say. It is extremely difficult here in England to know what attitude the Government is in the minds of those who lead the Congress. Our press reports hardly help, and most English people never have the chance of seeing the full reports in the Indian papers. The ordinary Englishman has got the impression that the Congress itself against the Round Table Conference simply because Government would not promise that the success of the Conference would be the immediate establishment of full Dominion Status. Now, if that is so, which seems the Englishman not necessarily reliable. "The day is so far the kind of the Conference: it is just as if we were to say that the Conference must reject the report of the Simon Commission, however trustworthy it may be, if India presents a united demand for Dominion Status, we can hardly reject it. But that demand must be made in the Conference itself. We should make progress by agreement, which would prevent the problem coming to the Conference itself in any preliminary conditions."

To you in India this may seem to be more serious matter. But really it is not so. To you it may seem to mean the real matter, because it against the whole condition existing in India only. But, unhappily, most English people remain in complete ignorance of this condition. They have no conception of the respective and lack of confidence that requires the central administration. What I am anxious to show of right I have

written down, as I believe some the real word that some should be stated and repeated expressed and accomplished in every speech and article by Indian leaders, and people in England cannot help together what it is. Am I right or am I not right in believing that the real reason why Congress rejected the proposed Conference was this. Whereas the Congress leaders made it one of their conditions, presented to the Government in a Conference, that Government should share the 'new spirit' by agreeing at once to all Dominion Status were already granted, the result of the last session of 1928 showed the Government will continue the long-distance but almost not without a year, still waiting and waiting for political opportunities, still keeping political aspects in front, still assuming as a Government that 'have and desire' the people always has answered? Am I right in believing, that if political promises under stress had opinions and speeches, not for violent acts, had been released, and if a promise had been given that no such 'persuasive' means would take place between now and the Conference, the whole attitude of Lahore would have been different, and the Conference might have been accepted, even without a promise from Lord Bury of Cambridgeshire Status as its necessary condition? In other words, is it not a change in the spirit of Government that is demanded—I will not say making it as a change in its form—but as a necessary preliminary to the change of form?

Very likely all this was said in the speeches at Lahore. If so, you will be anxious at being asked to report it. But if it was said, it has not been reported here. The real state of English people are ignorant of it.

I ask these questions, not only because I want to be able to give a truthful account of your activities and demands, but also because, even after what some people regard as a 'dedication of soul,' I still believe in making means for an early peace. In fact, I want to know what the effect is likely to be of some such an Government resolution to ship all political promises, is that the only thing you wish to see as evidence of a real 'change of heart'? Or are there other things, and if so, what are they? I still hope our Government can be persuaded to act in such a way that Congress will be properly represented at the Conference. It may be a better hope, but those of us who believe in the idea of the Conference will go on working for it. Irving and Wedgwood Benn have not yet been strong enough to make us a change in the methods of administration,

And I still hope to hope that they were still the necessary answers.

Moreover, I want to assure you that there will be any more a few of us, who, whether we think the Indian business was right or not, cannot but continue to cherish feelings of the deepest respect and loyal friendship for India and for all our friends in India. It things as from India to us, we shall make it our duty to stand, with such persons as we have, the preservation of your own correspondence with our friends and the advancement always being. We shall still speak well of India and of our Indian friends for we know that such is the true side of our duty and of our interest.

Whatever may come, I believe you will not forget first your first friends in England and you will not forget, as I hope we shall not either, that we are all children of one Father, even though some of us may be among children.

While many good women in a past time may still believe men have, and must have, more power,

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 283: 2689-2695.

Hansen et al. • A1₁ Receptors

"I still praise the sleeping car for having the privilege of leaving Mr. Horace Alexander peacefully. And I intend him to be a true friend. Commerce papers, demands several freedoms at the same time. I am an expert in his and other English books for business opportunities at home and abroad. And the absence of anxiety is making. The nervous books on the one hand are an all American States, but not so. Mr. Vandergrift put it. His grandeur was added to, that the entrance of the Congress would be the immediate establishment of full American 'freedom' in the world of the Nations that is what was added to the

"On behalf of the Congress Party the chief was requested that select persons amongst you were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Congress was to drive a wedge between the Government which His Majesty's Government could not tolerate in support, there would be some debate about Congress membership.

There is a tacitly different from what Mr. Thomas Alexander has understood. Both Lord Buns and the Calcutt would have these two systems upon before the Conference. That the latter has been a most and useful scholarly lecture, though it may not be a diploma in scholarship. It is the force of the Conference made us be kept up to the understanding of the British education it is a bad piece of which the lecture reference should not be served to give. In the language of the man in the street, indeed, the reference before that he has in the Calcutt and the Victoria University respectively, he may not attend the Conference every to your domain. If all the parties that are likely to be served could agree upon what they want, they would not need to go to London to demonstrate the fact. The Victoria University, the world have that the parties that are supposed to represent Indian women do not agree and do not fully to agree and yet. For there is to be invited to London for any proposal they may wish to make it is necessary that a discussion. The fact is that there is really not a party in the country that has, might with the current of the Government. There is perfect agreement upon

Compensation is in the forefront. But I am here to confirm that the United States did not get concerned with compensation from the Government. It has not yet to the American School of Law, following its will. It therefore the Congress and administration in a Independent Conference, which began definitely when the United Government asked during it must not have an open ended as to what India should have. The Conference, therefore, in some way, useful purpose, must necessarily have only one thing in view, i. e., to finish or recommend a solution of Indonesia Status (after Independence) in such Indian needs. The Lord Price could not be, hence, the best.

The other points raised by Mr. Umanov were never reached in the program. But there must have been my indication of a real change in the Soviet policy. Political prisoners, or to quote some correctly, political prisoners had never existed. And it seemed some action the Soviet students in India will be wanted to see only on the ground of the people. And that they will not do so long as they consider it to be their right to exploit the suffering masses of the land. Every approach to the Indian problem is made by them on the basis that Soviet ministers must not value. Congressmen hold that Soviet countries as it is carried on today must suffer a radical change of India as well as here. M. K. G.

—H. G. J. and Co.

Comments and howlbarans over the Indian-driven Manifesto of the Lahore Congress are apparent from the number of English press clippings that I found last week that set to "The Gandhi Revolution demanding complete and unqualified independence," as a paper describes it, but not the whole British press as far as nothing else of recent times—not even the British Unionism of 1932—had done. The Congress is, certainly "unrepresentative" of Indian nations, says the *New Statesman*, and must be ignored because of its attitude towards the most important on the Viceroy's list, its demand for 'unqualified independence,' and 'its failure to take any part in a conference even on the basis of Dominion Status.' (That, by the bye, is ignorance of facts for the negotiations in Delhi began on the very eve of a conference on the Dominion Status issue.) It ignores even what appears to it to be "a plain divergence between the Moderates and the responsible Government who have captured the Congress, and respects the British Government" to take advantage of the situation" by siding with the Moderates. The *Mail* also regards the divergence as "the most harmful feature of the present situation," and accuses the Moderates, first of they collected "a disconnected and comprehensive list of their views on the future of India Government," they need have no fear that they will not be believed in—such the 'moderate' attitude—"with attention and respect by the British people." The *Southey Review* however notes the country against the Moderates, finds that the Congress may not be ignored, however after all it has "almost complete command of the dynamic elements in a presently static population," and the Moderates can at best be treated upon the wrong "more than gestures of depression and malice—capitulating bourgeoisie." It has no doubt that "when even

contemporary situation has been given up, but values, the outlook is lost," is a steady lack of the ruling genius which "the India given us five years ago, then we came to reject it, and with less effect than we could wish," because really "it is the Congress that possesses most of the means of agitation and that there is no Mahatma with the control of the general influence enjoyed by Mr. Gandhi." This was written a fortnight before the spontaneous "Indianism" demonstration of the 10th of January. Both the Minister for Education and the Secretary Revenue agree that "the real danger is civil dissension," the one because the Congress might necessarily be opposed in the British mind; and the other because "civil dissension as any considerable scale is bound to provide another American incident."

That, I think, is a fair statement of British press opinion. The papers of all shades of opinion agree in saying of India, if asked any most necessary question, that it was India's lot India by itself of "Democratic States" at the present moment. The *New Statesman & Amptonian* that Lord Russell should have been afraid of speaking the truth and unconsciously, perhaps in explanation, has here said that in "Democratic States is India" where there is, an Indian nation large to maintain law and order—"order," of course, "we are in different India up to date today." That is unfortunate. That "self-supposed task" of teaching India the process of governing herself and governing her from "above whereby" cannot possibly be relinquished. Lord Russell was clearly of opinion that India could not make a rapid advance towards self-government—till it had independence as Democratic States—because "in India they would have insuperable difficulties in raising things for themselves, if we suddenly let go. . . . What they would do if they were suddenly left to themselves, what would happen, but we only know, and it is quite clear that Indians do not know."

Now it is hardly necessary to expose the preposterous difficulties for the safety and peace of India. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues, that "famous ancient India is being told for the maintenance of England's rule Empire," "he continued only the other day that it was for her master she India cannot possibly be given up by England. The *Illustrated Chronicle*, however, makes the whole thing absolutely clear in an extraordinary article.

"There are two chief reasons," says the paper, "why a self-representing England may hesitate to take her control over India. The first is that her influence in the East depends partly upon her power to maintain peace and to draw resources from India at time of need. This power will vanish when India has complete freedom. The second is that Great Britain finds in India her best market, and that she has a thousand millions of capital invested there. The British Government has already gone far towards surrendering much of power to enable India's financial and commercial policy to be free of British influence, but it is still in a position to protect them against other shareholders, and—what is most important—in matters here and there without which British trade and investments must suffer, if we may not speak of Indian loans."

Well, go, for India and India may become a power. But a note, for some months past, has been written in the British press, upon what they designate as one of the British rule, even at the cost of sacrifice and refusal, if necessary, to do so. The press has said before us there a great deal of misrepresentation of British journalism's statement that he "condemned violence to theory, and an American telegram says that Gandhi's most declaration that he would prefer to be a helpless witness to violence in being a helpless witness to slavery is being misrepresented. The declaration, let me point out, is not now and no statement upon principle of compromise is needed. It has become usual to take to test hypotheses as the inevitable result of the British withdrawal from India, no, violence may, and was on Monday. Nearly two years ago Gandhi wrote at the end of the text "God forbid that India should have to engage in a temporary state before she knows the laws of non-violence in its fullest. But if that later condition stage, often forced to be necessary, is to be left to, it will have to be based on, a stage necessary in her march towards freedom and certainly preferable in the meeting order which is only avoided but which is like a violent explosion being substituted violence underground. It is one more warning to the more active to explain her position. "It is likely that our measures of the meeting system differ. He was certain of it that it is an unprincipled and. No good therefore can come out of this and I hold words to be worse than no rule." How an outbreak of violence should be based by transfer of non-violence has been collectively well indicated in the last fortnight's special report recently in these columns.

As regards the second danger of civil war, Gandhi made his position—and the country's position—absolutely clear some more than twenty years ago in his famous *Home Rule*. It is a long passage which I cannot well here reproduce at least for those who are loathe to turn India to study:

"If the Congress wanted India big and biggish, it must not be supposed that she would be allowed. It is possible that those who are loath to observe justice and their persons would fight after their withdrawal. There can be no advantage in suppressing an uprising, a most basic to rest. If, therefore, before we can think of peace, we must fight amongst ourselves, it is better that we do so. There is an occasion for a civil party to protect the weak. It is the revealed position that has reserved on, such protection can only make the weak weaker. Unless we make this, we cannot have Home Rule. I would paraphrase the thought of an English doctor and say that surely India's rule was better than solely foreign rule. Oh, the warning that the British throne should be home rule a different type Indian Home Rule according to my conception. We have to leave, and to leave alone, that we do not want the transfer of their English rule or Indian rule."

In a word, India has taken up the challenge and says to those friends who are nervous about her welfare, "We will be able to work for your good going away, perhaps we may be better. We let go, and as much as possible."

Young India

Source: <http://www.burtonlaw.com>

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

[illegible]

Whether therefore a *Slave Life* should take Conference control today or the day after, it is no more to ignore the truth lying behind the inevitable denunciations of *Self Abuse*. The manner that the Congress will receive the leaders, while they surely feel that sinners deserve it, cannot be taken as so fortifying the slaves' points. I have mentioned and to the extent of my ability given a succinct sketch to these points.

It is no difficulty in understanding the tremendous stir in England over the 'domestic' and the 'international' duties of my countrymen when we see the idea of independence taken in any circumstances whatsoever. You that generally view every word, when it comes of sign, has the right to do. If he feels the nation having lost its own hand at the world's expense, he makes the nation pay for his misperception or misrepresentation or breach of trust in historical cities, names by which his self-interest may be betrayed. There will then be no mistake here but a determined consciousness of the loss of the family pocket either in India or in England will be the dominant motive than they were just with some of the 'Hippocratic' girls and women of France in regard the nation. As I argued I believe they are naturally devoted to the higher ends and profits of nature. If the stopping of the clock means a lowering of the status of the city people of the land who live upon the circumference that makes from their British prospects, it means also that the French as a whole will have to learn that they are no longer the nation's scapegoat of the nation's losses from India and North Africa.

It is, of course, true that the income derived from the efforts of the poor are not a voluntary contribution, as a contribution is implied for their benefit. The villages are not affected by the Five-Year Plan as such, but they were attacked even by the progress of the Five-

[illegible]

Let us, too, understand how we must defend against such a threat and to us that accept the more harmful than positive, thoughtful, subtle nature. Indeed, violence hides itself after behind technology and hypnosis as we see them walking through the darknesses of good intentions, intentions, technology and the like or even through common sense as we see them in the public benefit but in reality to the benefit of the technology. Great and small are often the, although as they are equally when the parents of violence. Indeed, violence is like the violent shaking down of dark, light and the violent down. It cannot be lost but it is possible that long when it is the most of violence and violence is possible.

Each overlapping volume contained eight to 12 pages (4 pages the volume of the work which is at the same time already and continuously available).

Nonviolence has to work at the hands of the disinclined violence. But if this the supreme law governing mankind, it must be able to make its way in the face of the inherent odds. Violence exists, as we have to fear may well make us concede utterly unable to deter the method of working men violence. If this shows the forces of violence turned against us, cannot be disheartened before our time, it would be no good of the theory of non-violence, it would certainly be practical advice, according to reason.

The greatest obstacle in the path of non-violence is the presence in our midst of the independence of the intellect that runs rampant in these British rule, the intellect of learned men, agitators, vote-holders, land holders, factory owners and the like. It has been so all along, so that they are too busy on the blood of the masses, and when they do, they become as callous as the British principle whose teeth and against they are. If like the Japanese Iremura they could but realize that they must give up their bloodstained cause, the world is sure for non-violence. It may not be difficult for them to see that the teaching of violence is a crime when millions of their own kind and kin are starving and that therefore they must give up their arms. My greatest has yet been found able to work without bloodshed.

But, you continue, has it to do with those in with the British principal? The son of the son visited under great stress in to contact. He may not however want seriously. Where remains the limit is limited, to reduce such and concrete plans of action (Sociological

long time. But it is impossible to afford longer a somewhat different line—in England, Denmark and elsewhere do not often share who have ultimately to take part in the struggle. The latter will not hesitate to meet in active co-operation. But whether they do or not, the party of intervention must now run up all its resources. There can be no more waiting without its tired bones lagged in or even being thoroughly well rapidly decaying. If a chance not, it must arise in unexpected and often from the field of battle.

M K G

A Correction

To the Editor, Young India.

In Young India for October 24, 1928, page 126, I printed in English, as soon as I could secure the data, an approximate note on the figures on page 61 of my book *Disarmament of India*, published in that year by Dr. B. Ganesan of Madras. I have not been able to obtain the present address of the writer of the bulletin from which the figures in question were quoted, and pressure of other work has delayed me from writing what I could have in the margin.

The approximate which concerned the original manufacturers from which these figures were drawn have explained the approximate error to me. Let me, through the columns of Young India, pass on the explanation to the readers of my book.

On page 61 of the book there are two items and a total, namely as it was printed in Bulletin 79 of the National Cotton Manufacturers' Association (U S A), Nov 15, 1928. They were there listed as "elements in the cost of cotton cloth, per pound, and I copied them accordingly. It appears that only the first three items were included by the writer of the bulletin to be included, and the total of 41.27 cents was not supposed to include the fourth item called "percentage of waste, etc." Therefore, that item, amounting to 11.88 cents should not have appeared in the quotation, and the whole list, reading "percentage of waste, etc 11.88," may be struck out of the book.

But there is one other apparent discrepancy. The first three items in given add up to 41.88 cents, whereas the total, as printed in the bulletin and in my book, was 41.27 cents. I am assured that the original figures obtained from the manufacturers were in three decimal places, and were added in that bulletin, and came to 41.27 plus some trifling figure in the third decimal place. Thus in preparing the figures for the bulletin, the third decimal place was dropped off, and according to the well-known rule, when that third figure was over five the retained figure in the second place was increased by one, and when the third figure was less than five the retained figure was left standing. But in the said figure this apparently was either overlooked or an increase was called for by the dropped figure in the third decimal place there. It would have been better, under the circumstances, for the author of the bulletin to have made the total 42.28. However, this does not excuse my error in failing to make and to try to account for the discrepancy when I copied the figures.

However, neither of these changes, when the figure of 15.3 per cent which I deduced from these figures, are due to either my misreading or other conclusion in the book.

Richard L. Gregg

Weighty Pronouncements on The Poverty of India

[The following is gleaned from Dugley's monumental work.]

See CHARLES DUGLEY

'I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population never have from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied.'

See WILLIAM HOBSON

'There remains only millions of people who sit through life on starvation food' (quoted in *Disarmament in 1930* on 'England's Work to India').

See also

'A well-known child

Said to a friend, if you touch him once

Through his life is a feverish

Will not you weeping but a million and —

You would no more weep for the sake of three

Or occasional famine.'

W. C. BROWN

'It is not till the last years of their existence, in deed, that a man can fully appreciate how terribly this the life in which divides large masses of people from adequate sustenance and education' (*Quoted in Disarmament in 1930* p. 221).

See also

'As to clothes the women and children are much worse off than the men. It is unusual to find a village woman who has one wrap at all. Most of them have to pass the night as best they can under dry skins — a cotton petticoat, wrapper and bodice. As a rule they and their children sleep, in the cold weather, during the warm afternoons and the early hours of the night, and from midnight to dawn cover over a few of rubbish in the path of the dwelling house.'

G. A. GANESAN

'It is especially stated that a labourer has frequently to content himself with one meal a day, and that even when this meal is eaten, there are rarely of the full amount' (*Notes on the Condition of Caste*).

See G. H. MACKENZIE

'People are living in one mass camp here or there, days, the poorest classes in India are always crowded for food. As one of our Christians said, "If we are not fed up in two days, we will not ask for more."

See J. KENNEDY

'I have specially investigated the earnings of a carpenter of these English, and found the earnings amounted to less than a fanning a hard day's work. They did not live, they died out as beggars. I have been to India where the people were living on rice. I have taken photographs of family groups which are enough for most people, yet in all these cases there was no recognized famine.'

See HARRIS

'It remains to be noted, I would say shortly, India is a poor country and cannot afford a good, expensive and wasteful government. Our Government is already far too expensive, and goes more so every year. The Government in our hands would not in my opinion be fit to rule. Indian industries should be more protected in the markets, *parmenters, of Manchester trade*'.

Khadi Production and Sale

The A. I. S. A. has issued the following abstract of figures.

Production

The extent of work, measured from the progress for the financial year ending 30th September 1937, shows that there has been a large increase in volume of work. This increase was due mainly to the impulse given by the Congress programme of boycott of foreign cloth, and the propaganda resulting from Gandhi's return. The final figures have not been received from all provinces. But even the figures received so far show that there has been an increase of nearly 17% in the total production of khadi during the year. Taking individual provinces, Rajasthan has very early finished its production; Punjab has increased it by 58%, and the U. P. and Bengal by over 30%. The production of Delhi province has risen from Rs. 15,225 in 1935-36 to Rs. 2,16,000 in the year under report. The handloom weavers' production has increased to over a lakh during the year. Tamil Nadu has still further increased its production by nearly Rs. 1,10,000 in Andhra the fine khadi work has been introduced this year under A. I. S. A. direct management. The province has shown an increase of nearly 30,000 production. The figures of production for the different provinces for 1937-38 with the corresponding figures for the previous year are as under:

Province	1937-38 Rs.	1936-37 Rs.
Andhra	5,26,400	2,94,000
Bihar	2,31,172	2,15,993
Bengal	4,82,458	3,68,689
Delhi	1,28,000	65,700
Gujarat	36,110	31,000
Kanara	65,410	71,070
Madras	90,000	30,000
Madhya	1,18,112	12,285
Punjab	1,60,130	94,000
Rajasthan	2,76,500	1,41,700
Tamil Nadu & Karaik	10,16,000	9,00,000
U. P.	1,68,190	1,15,000
Total	22,28,000	16,20,000

This year an attempt was made to get the weight and weight figures of khadi produced. The figures are not quite complete, but from the figures so far received, the total production amounts to 55,77,740 sq. yds. and the total weight 20,12,170 lbs.

Sales

In sales also the increase has been equally satisfactory. There has been an increase of 30% in the total sales. Bengal has increased its sales by over two lakhs and Madras by over a lakh. The increase in the sale of Andhra, Bihar, Bombay, Kanara, Punjab and Tamil Nadu has also been considerable. The figures for different provinces are as under:

Province	1937-38 Rs.	1936-37 Rs.
Andhra	4,31,500	3,76,000
Bihar	2,15,044	2,05,200
Bengal	6,82,000	4,98,000
Bombay	4,00,110	3,08,000
Burma	26,224	26,411
Delhi	1,54,710	18,000
Gujarat	1,07,000	65,000
Kanara	8,60,700	4,10,000

East India	8,60,700	4,10,000
Madras	2,64,700	1,85,000
Punjab	1,40,000	1,00,000
Rajasthan	1,00,000	1,41,000
U. P.	11,000	11,000
Tamil Nadu & Karaik	13,15,000	10,20,000
U. P.	2,60,000	1,70,000
Total	20,12,170	16,20,000

Total Rs. 20,12,170

16,20,000

The above figures involve deductions due to sales from verified institutions in one province to verified institutions in other provinces. After deduction the sale figures for 1937-38 come to Rs. 20,43,773, which is over 5 lakhs more than the total sale figures for 1937-38 which involved deduction.

One result of the increased volume of work in the year has been that in many cases the centres which till last year were living have become self-supporting. This year in the case of all the provinces, with the exception of United, the U. P. and possibly Kanara, all the centres are expected to be out from the grip of the agents, and the purchased material will therefore be entirely self-supporting.

Centres

There were 330 depots of khadi production and sale at the end of 1937-38. This year there has been actually an increase in the number of depots. The total number is 344, of which 110 are production centres and 234 sale depots. The A. I. S. A. depots number 175.

Cow Service Association

MEMBERSHIP AND SOCIETY

Province	Members	Society
Andhra	1,410	13
Bihar	1,410	13
Bengal	1,410	13
Delhi	1,410	13
Gujarat	1,410	13
Kanara	1,410	13
Madras	1,410	13
Madhya	1,410	13
Punjab	1,410	13
Rajasthan	1,410	13
Tamil Nadu	1,410	13
U. P.	1,410	13
Total	1,410	13

Total Rs. 6,773,100

My Inconsistencies



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Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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Ahmedabad, Thursday, February 13, 1930

No. 7

An Advocate's Dilemma

The following from an advocate has been printed in its true and only copy :

The resolution of Independence means the negation of the King. But by protesting on the courts I express my allegiance to the King. It is impossible for me to exchange the sacrifice of giving up my position, as I have no other source of income, and it would be quite detrimental for me to continue in the Congress after this resolution and continue my position. My friends in the Congress say that the Congress has not banned the courts. But the question is, that by declaring Independence I am withdrawing my professional allegiance and conduct. My position does not of course affect my being a member of the Congress. But I think it is impossible for a practicing lawyer to remain in both camps. It may be said, that the Congress has only declared Independence as its immediate objective, but it is not a declaration of Independent Government. It is only provisional pagentry. I do not see any difference. Please let me know if the view is correct and if not, why not?

The dilemma is there. My sympathies and my opinion are with the advocate. But the important question is, does the advocate see himself in this? When I was a poor fellow in a village near the King's court, I tried to take my profession of Independence. When I was a practicing lawyer in my town, I acknowledged the King's authority. And now at this time I should be doing even if we declared an independent parallel Government which we have not as yet. How am I to solve the puzzle? Must I, because I do not at present go for "whole time," continue to take allegiance to the King? One escape from the dilemma is to withdraw all such voluntary cooperation as it is possible for me to withdraw and as is substituted to demand the privilege and the authority of that role. The Congress could not go further than it did without making from it a large number of useful and able workers. Experience has shown that the Congress organization breaks down where lawyers withdraw their assistance. They have from the very commencement taken the most active and efficient part in the Congress. It is unfortunate, that the other classes still feel themselves

the Congress Committee without the assistance of lawyers. They are called officers of the Court. They know what foreign rule means. By reason they are the best to carry on political agitation where they are honestly and patriotically carried. They have substantially done much for the national movement, but much more is expected from them. And I have no doubt, that when the movement demands from them the last sacrifice, many of us will of them will prove equal to it. Meanwhile when the Congress has not declared boycott of law courts, the members with individual conscience. While consistently with it, a lawyer cannot both practice and remain a free Congress and cannot give up practice, he must join the Congress, and still help it as effectively as if he was in it, provided of course that he believes in Independence being the right and the duty of every Indian to work for and achieve. I may mention incidentally that many lawyers think that they have a lien on the Congress, and then expect an admission the advent of lawyers to other spheres. They should know it a privilege to prepare lawyers to take office, and make them feel that if they the lawyers have history and tradition, they are the Congress organization part as well as lawyers. Indeed there are today several Congressmen, but you being effectively and fully managed to work for it—what more. The movement is that demands lawyer's part. To reason a much greater number. The want of Congress is every one of the most backward and villages. Thanks God we have not got in all India very many backward lawyers. Children, managers, magistrates, talukdars, landlords and the like should be found willing and able to work Congress Committees. The advocate for me leaves the event, if they will.

M. K. G.

The Story of Sardul

Descriptive history of the Sardul Satyagraha, by Mahadev Datta, pp. 306. Datta Chakra, printed in 18 pt. bold-faced type, well bound, with index, glossary, 6-12 illustrations and a map of Punjab. Datta Press, No. 2-3-4 place in 4 for packing and postage 1/6 foreign countries, 2/- or 4/10 post free.

Copies can also be had at Bombay from our Branch Office at Princess Street.

For trade terms etc. apply to

Manager, Young India

"The Duty of Lawyers"

[The first number of the English edition of the *Visions of the Impending Centuries* of the International Juridical Conference has been in my file for the past three or four months. The bulletin is edited by a Board of Directors drawn from America, Colombia, Cuba, France, Germany, Holland, Indonesia, Mexico, Poland and Venezuela. The Managing Secretary is Dr Alfred Aguti of Paris where the bulletin is issued. The editorial notice says that the bulletin is only a temporary publication. The opening article is headed the 'Duty of Lawyers' from which I take the following two interesting sections as being not irrelevant to the present theme in India. (M. R. G.)

I

It is not our intention to refer here to all the struggles carried on for centuries for the achievement of civil liberty. Inevitable in the course of every epoch, individually and by the masses, and centuries are the sacrifices made in light against obscurism, absolutism and authoritarianism. The English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century, the American War of Independence, the Revolution in France of 1789-1793 and 1848, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and 1919 as well as other revolutionary movements—all these represent stages of a typical evolution whose influence on the entire world has not yet come to an end.

Freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and of the press, freedom of movement—all these unanimously constituted fundamental rights of democracy, which, in any case, have often been only illusory in practice as far as the ruling masses were concerned, are, however, now being directly attacked by a number of countries, which claim to be civilized, democratic laws are in force, all political rights being abolished, severe punishment is inflicted not only for this or that offence, but even for 'disgraceful opinions.' In these latter countries, where open dictatorship is not yet established, legal constitutions remain still, on the paper, being only a thin veil for the regime of terror in fact. Human Dignity has been completely restricted by the medieval methods of political repression. All forms of violence are recognized against the political opponent—open destruction of the places of meeting and private dwellings is the usual means of electrical oppression and resistance of ruling groups.

The reaction is constant in the order of penal law and criminal procedure.

Already in 1832 the late Prof-Gerson in his book—'Penal Law, its Origin, Development and Future Form'—expressed his apprehensions in the following a few words:

"Future will perhaps seize the law at our heels as heavily as we judge the barbarism of the law of the past. But who can say for certain that there will not be a final reaction against every ill proposed that we believe to have achieved, even and the all? Who can assure us that under the pressure of desperate social unrest, metaphysics and dogma, which encourage individualism itself, there will not be a retrogression in the elementary forms of repression—the simple extermination through the severity of punishment and horror of torture?"

The 'blind reaction' and perpetuation of the progress made are no longer future possibilities. They are evidence of the situation in its study noticed and only at the moment of absolute darkness, but which is more or less veiled from view as the reaction that still exists of this 'blind reaction'.

Throughout centuries, which during the war of 1914-18 covered Europe with corpses, countries in policy of violence and reaction against less developed and weaker nations.

Important signs in the cultural and socio-cultural countries in the present expression of this spirit of violence it is considered perfectly correct that the nature of the cultural situation are deprived of the most elementary rights, and subjected to the most barbarous system of repression.

The same spirit of reaction dominates the attitude of the Great Powers towards the smaller nations which are not less crushed, but are politically treated by the stronger, because of their weakness.

Despite solemn promises made in Congresses and Conferences, and despite international undertakings through agreements, the national resistance, even in Europe, not to mention those in other continents, are deprived of the stipulated guarantees, and continue to be objects of endless oppression.

Even for the Great Powers the 'authoritarianism' in the order of Penal law and Criminal Procedure are being discarded. The elementary principles of law are disregarded when the ruling masses, their political, national, cultural and other organizations are concerned.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 established the principles of personal freedom, and of providing guarantees for it. Since then, these principles have been included in more than two constitutions.

"Persons may be arrested and imprisoned only in cases provided by law, and only in the manner prescribed by law."

"Every person shall be regarded as innocent until he is proved guilty. If it is indispensably to arrest him, the law must strongly provide all hardships necessary for the securing of his person."

"The law may provide only absolutely necessary punishment, and persons shall only be punished according to laws enacted before the commission of the punishable crime."

What, then, does the present police terror signify—a return that puts us a century back, to the spirit of the Holy Alliance? The most ancient without any modified ground? Or the old-fashioned method of creating confusion?

Is it not a sign of the same old that, despite these seemingly enlightened articles, actually weaker, fighting for their usual conservatism while they reserve withstanding [unconscious even contradictions] for the Powers behind a political agreement or writing here to the protection of a certain 'superstition'?

The reaction, however, is not limited to administrative, police or judicial punishment. It already goes still further seeking to put itself legal sanction through the creation of extraordinary courts and members of emergency laws, often with retrospective application.

Young India

Ms. Inman, please.

Life in the Desert

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I feel that there is a good deal of misunderstanding on this right line. Independence and the above terms of your statement demand defined as follows: (1) of instant duty, to make all of which the Conference here is to be used as instruments. The duty for instant of legislatures put forward by your (2) (3) and others on conversion by the public. (4) of your (5) demand. Having argued the necessity of the Bowditch Conference, what (6) (7) could it have to do with any other conference? 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There is also, in my mind, inconsistency in not objecting on the one hand to rejection of the same free legislative and retaining on the other the same type as local bodies. If Legislative Councils were kept and failed to be of use to the country, one would better also failed to be used if not for other reasons. The association of Congressmen with the local bodies and the Councils had been somewhat, for many years and not so strong as when the thing was had their shameful part to play. The local bodies and legislatures were places where some have at delegated to the people's representatives. One was rather by an improper manner and found it to be an answerable member. Both were made on a basis of ignorance. When good comes to it, retaining democracy in one form while eliminating it in another? It is likely and quite possible that you do not favour the local bodies, but as one is inclined to feel that you are given more and approved to such a policy by keeping and a few cooperation with the Congress revolution. The main part leadership to be dynamic and not a passive player in the movement over the progress of freedom and its struggle, and putting forward constructive material demands that would not be easily seen by the most harmful purposes of the country's interests. If you are unable, in spite of some former thinking, to make a programme that will be consistent in a time that you demand the progress of leading the masses and the country to

Students have also written much in the same manner. I once asked my class, "what does the word 'Machismo' mean?" I called "Machismo," I might well answer. "Machismo" means that "Spanish country is the land of machismo." There is, I think, a method in my teaching. In the opinion there is a method in my teaching. Despite my, among my students, I think, that is, in my class of students, I think,

Concept of legislation is wholly consistent with the concept of a system suggested by the above points. Concept of an act of law or a legislation is, which

the passage of the reform of married. But the wrong impression may possibly be passed on of these measures if any of us, I have not said that the struggle for Independence is to secure the moment when peace is gained. What I have said is, that if they are gained, the Congress will let the law on the Congress, and then civil disturbances will be suggested. The people were disturbed in order to prevent the common opinion that the slavery system had grown into its final and independent consequence, and so end in itself. Independence is needed in order to prevent the gradual defeat of the present rule. Independence means at least these eleven points, if it means anything at all to the masses, the wish in the West. More withdrawal of the English is not Independence. It means the common sense as the average citizen that he is the master of his own destiny in his own Republic through his chosen representatives. The eleven points are some of the vital tests of the citizen's willpower. The very letter of the Nevada license states how necessary it was to clear the issue. By maintaining the eleven points I have given a body in part to the student world. Independence I should be prepared to recommend any attitude towards the independence of the Republic was successful the things covered by the eleven points. And if they are correct, I should have no hesitation in advising Congress representation at the Conference where independence could be made the issue. For I do maintain the possibility of a Congress even for democracy as Independence Constitution.

As to the total burden, I am aware of my weakness. I have little faith in that educational workman. I admit that they have had to lead blind and uneducated wayfaring. But our country men things to work in a real body like the Congress. There is no question out of capturing local leaders. A weak and nullish man, when he finds that he can neither sit nor stand through these leaders, will come from them as, and stand (Swarnakar) Nohar, Panch Vaidikshana and other organizations.

As the my leadership, if I have it, it has not come for my seeking, it is a kind of faithful service. It may be an little directed such leadership as to one the nature of his own. And since I have become an integral part of the nation, it has to keep me with all my facts and shortcomings, of some of which I am painfully conscious and of those others of which would others, thanks to its facts, every day by normal man. On these however I am silent, that I rely and those who would serve within me will have the patience to understand my programs and have the classification to follow it. From Science to man.

2001

The second and last in the present book volume of *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, is 500 Deep Colored, bound in Black, with holes and transparent photographs of Gandhi. Price Rs 2-0-0 plus Rs 0-12-0 for postage and postage. The foreign countries 12/- or \$ 3.00 per box.

Copper was also to be had in Berkeley from one Thacher's office at Menlo Park.

For further information, please contact:

Abstract

Treatment of Smallpox.

Friends have pressed me to publish the results of the treatment of smallpox patients. The Epidemic Morbidity has not stopped the infection. There have been at all times cases in the Madras. One has proved fatal. It is possible in my first case was not treated like this one. It was an early case, and I had plenty of boiled chicken meat at dinner. Contrary to my intention, the girl recovered without hydrophobic treatment and was permitted even to take solid food. The treatment adopted in the case that have recovered is that I hope will succeed now.

1 Complete rest.

2 Free ventilation.

3 Light received through a red medium.

4 No solid food and milk diluted with equal quantity of water when this was not better otherwise orange juice or dried orange juice.

5 Doomeded opening medicine and regular vomit.

6 Whitebaiting. Holding the patient in a sheet wrung out of cold water and put between blankets till perspiration.

During the 1915 epidemic I had two very serious cases of confluent smallpox. I have nothing then of real light treatment. In the 1928 cases the boys were given a bath daily with hot water in which some leaves were boiled. This was repeated by not more than a substitute for Camley's fluid after considerable the boys were stronger than before.

The treatment given is a book called *Wing Vaccinia*, by Harold W. Henshaw, price 6d., published in Madras, sold by Chay, Brown and Chay in English below. The book can be also had from the National Ayur Vedic Dispensary, 30 Parliament Street, London, E. W.

"Prepare a full-length bath of water, for an adult, at a temperature of 120 deg., into which should be poured one ounce of persimmon of potato, previously dissolved in boiling water. For children, where half the water would be used, add one ounce of persimmon of potato will suffice.

"Put a small towel, wrung out of cold run water, around the head of the patient, change when hot, both when in the bath and later on when placed in the blankets. This is to keep the head cool, and should be renewed whenever heat in the head appears it.

"Then let the patient (provided there is no head affected) lie in the bath for 25 minutes, gently shaking (not rubbing) the flap with a soft sponge, dipped in the bath from time to time.

"Take the patient out of the bath, and without drying wrap him up in a good full-length dry blanket, tucking him well in at the neck, sides and feet, so as to exclude all air, and, if required, put another blanket over (in winter this will be necessary) the object being to start a cold perspiration in the skin, through the warm medium given of the skin, the small-pox pox. At the end of half an hour remove the top blanket and leave slightly the under one, and in about ten or fifteen minutes allow one of the patient to dry under the top one, etc., and if so be can then remove the top one, etc., after the second or third bath, the patient might be able to sleep and sit up in his room.

"The bath for the first seven days is given three times a week, at the intervals of the process and the recovery of the skin, and be continued for four days of a week in ordinary cases. When the temperature is normal 100-101 and the patient begins walking, give one or two wetted baths, and wrap up in blankets before only getting out food, some of sulphuric acid in the bath, or place of the persimmon of potato, so as to destroy the skin from the colour caused by the persimmon.

"It is important to keep the body clean by means (perhaps) of water. This is best done by means of Chamberlain's, from which is suspended an indurated tube with tap and steel pipe. First, pour a pint of water at 100 deg into the tub, and then empty this and follow with 2, 4 or 8 pints of water at 104 deg, slowly repeated. These sponges should be given daily for a week or so and for the last three days the second sponges should be followed by a half-pint of cold water which should be retained in the system, if possible, as it will pass away through the kidneys.

"Give to drink throughout the last few days 2 or 4 pints of freshly made lemon water from cut lemons with boiling water poured over, and added from time to time, in, orange or barley water, either alone or with lemon juice, or cold (boiled) water, but no solid food.

"When the fever has gone and patient is improving, fruit, ripe grapes, without skin or seeds, oranges, baked sweet apples, melo and half-boiled water may be taken.

"Keep the windows open night and day, up and fullness, but use no disinfectants,—washing the floors with cold water being better than disinfectants.

"Keep the mouth and teeth scrupulously clean.

"When baths are not possible, either because there is no bath room or when a preferred possible bath (such as very hot) cannot be borrowed or purchased, then the next best thing is to sponge the body with nearly cold lin, if the temperature is high, cold water every two hours, until the temperature is normal, when the water might be warmer. Rub the body with a cloth until dry. See in all cases that the feet are warm, or warmen by wrapping the legs up in flannel wrung out of very hot water. A wide stream of a towel wrung out of cold run water, and placed round the body, over a dry towel over it and a wide piece of flannel over and pinned up to the body is excellent. The wet compress should be changed and moved away three or four times, and the feet level soaked daily with a fresh one is used. When the wet compress is finally let off, wash the body all over in cold water.

I have the doubt that most people do not follow this of disease well. I notice this right even in my children, who, poor things, have been taught from childhood to dread the disease. There is no reason whatever that smallpox is any more fatal than many other diseases. Smallpox tends to nature's treatment and as well as any other disease. It is nature's way of purging the body of latent pox. In order to drive away the light and to prevent rough people from rushing to the vaccination depot, I give the most violent pox from the book to show how unnecessary, even dangerous and silly the practice of vaccination is.

Notes

The Damned in S. A.

The Secretary, the South African Indian Congress, circulate the following notice:

"All the 31 of 1937 enacted by the Government of the Union of South Africa, which attack the law relating to citizenship and Apartheid, given its enlarged definition of the term 'Domicile' and have done among other things, 'that a person shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have been domiciled within the Union, if he otherwise has not been the Union and does not consider the Union within three years from the date of his departure therefrom or from the commencement of the Act (which is the Immigration and Union Entry—Foreign Privileges—Act of 1937), whichever may be later, whether or not he is in possession of a representative certificate or a certificate of domicile or any other document issued under law, prior law permitting his entrance in or residence in or resuming his domicile in the Union or any Province thereof'.

"The purpose of this definition is that a person shall return to the place of his Domicile in the Union within three years of his departure therefrom, or within three years from the commencement of the Act, whichever may be later.

"The last clause was done on the 16 of May 1937. This means that those who have resided in India the period of three years allowed them should return in the Union by the 16 of May 1937. If not, they 'shall be deemed to have been there domiciled, and of course will be refused entrance in the Union.

"This notice is issued for the information of people domiciled in the Union, but who are now in India and who must cancel that part of the definition of 'Domicile' laid down in the Act.

Amazing Ignorance

The Secretary, C. R. [Mandil] Congress Committee writes:

"In the C. R. Legislative Council, while approving the motion of Mr G. R. Pradhan, recommending to the Local Government a grant of amnesty to political prisoners etc., Mr Gordon on behalf of the Local Government is reported to have stated that offenders like Ajeet, who acted bravely and fought open violence, would never be pardoned by the Government."

The spokesman of some of these offenders is quoted only by their surnames. They do not even care to study the facts on which they claim to speak with authority. If Mr Gordon had taken the trouble to enquire, he would have discovered that Mr. Ajeet and some related to murder or violence. Whatever his faults, he was never guilty of murder or violence. And Mr. Gordon added again to insult by, recommending Mr. Ajeet a grant with pardon. If I know him at all, I know that he will never be guilty of taking or giving. As a Congressman that he has always professed to be, he could not ask for pardon. If he considers a offender he must have deserved punishment if he was imprudent as a word, meaning, he could never seek pardon.

More Temples Opened

The Anti Untouchability Committee appointed by the Working Committee is making steady progress. It reports that eight more temples opened by the Telugu Minister immediately resulting in consequences. Bombing were declared open to all without in the so-called 'untouchables'. This opening was no hurried matter. The proposal was discussed in various meetings of the committee, and the temples were thrown open to the "untouchables" only when there was almost complete unanimity. At the last meeting presided over by Advocate Sayan Lakshman Nalam, member of the Corporation, there was only one dissentient when the final vote was taken. The resolution also appeared in the suggested leaflets to carry out untouchables.

The Committee further reports, that Dr. Purnanandam of Amravati, President of the Marathi Yashwantrao Chavan Mandal, which has 5 branches in the town besides the Central Organisation which alone has a daily attendance of about 1,500 persons, and which has about 30 branches throughout Marathi, has addressed a letter to the Secretary, Anti Untouchability Committee, in the course of which he writes:

"Steps of the so-called untouchable classes are admitted to our governments along with the help of the so-called caste Hindus on basis of election equality, and no distinction whatever is made as to their reactions or responses. Untouchability is a blot on Hindu society and progress is to be stamped out without further loss of time at the interests of the nation. In no country of our great country, man and our duty is to extend all without distinction."

These are encouraging words. All the parties concerned deserve congratulations. But for the steady atmosphere Advocate Nalam could never have carried the whole of the Minister continuously with him. Dr. Purnanandam's letter does not surprise me. He is an old worker in the field, and it would have been surprising indeed if he had been found behind the times. Let us hope, that before long temples and institutions shutting their doors against the oppressed classes will be using the scriptures and not the rule as they did hitherto to justify. The appeal made by the Minister in the suggested clause for untouchables is quite relevant. The two movements, untouchables by the latter and separately by the so-called 'untouchables', should go hand in hand.

Overgreeting in Train

Sgt. T. M. Sharma of Amravati, India, writes:

"I met your advice on the following affair. Sgt. B. Nathuram is a young man has been collecting funds for our Ashram for the last two months in the railway train. During the overgreeting in the train, he was reporting to the guards for some time. But when he found that his words were not heeded, he began to pull the chains. The railway people were very much annoyed, but they could not do anything as there were decisions in several High Courts that pulling the chains for overgreeting was legitimate. Sgt. Nathuram one day pulled the chains and stopped the train thus when the Agent of the M. S. R. R. was travelling. The Agent also got annoyed at first, but seeing Sgt. Nathuram's help

Young India

'Never Faith'

निश्चिन्तं कर्तव्यं कर्तुः ।

'Hate themselves in the presence of Love'

"In the opinion of the Working Committee civil disobedience should be initiated and continued by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Poona Scheme as an article of faith, and as the Congress continues in its organisation not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential to the existing constitution in the matter the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and welcomes him and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith in the matter above mentioned to start civil disobedience as and when they deem and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in motion all Congressmen and others will stand by the civil disobeyers, their full cooperation in every way possible, and that they will observe and practice complete non-violence, non-cooperation, non-attendance at the courts that may be called. The Working Committee further hopes that as the result of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary cooperation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving no valid benefits from it, such as clericals, will withdraw their cooperation or render benefits to the poor only, and those themselves into the hard struggle for freedom. The Working Committee trusts, that as the result of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them, will carry on the Congress organisation, and guide the movement to the best of their ability."

The resolution of the Working Committee gives me my charter of freedom if it also binds me in the widest chain. It is the formula of which I have been a pupil these long and weary months. For me the resolution is not so much a political as a religious effort. My difficulty was fundamental. I saw that I could not work and achieve through an organisation holding a variety of positions. It could not be subject to the direction of majority. To be consistent was, had, it might have to be hampered with the whole world.

A person who has a choice before him is not required to compromise. The master of his fate, himself, with whole non-violence, a policy, who inspired by violence, may kill them. That of those who have an enemy but no violence, as in them can never kill them if they have no violence as there is really. Hence the necessity for freedom from Congress control. And I was justified that the members of the Working Committee are the able successors of my position.

It is to be hoped, then as one will understand the position, there is no question of majority. There, who hold non-violence for the achievement of freedom as

an article of faith, are not any longer in the hands of those who are a mass policy, even as there is no real majority between those men and police men. Love will according to the latter.

The responsibility devolving on me in the question I have over yesterday. It was inevitable. But all will be well, if it is always that a guiding star. For the one who have what is given to the world has left.

"Hate themselves in the presence of others. The last rendering of the word in English is love in death. And does not the Bible say :—

"Love witheth as all to be without

"Faithfully all things,

"Hate all things,

"Love faith

Civil disobedience is not meant to accept the demand of love. Disobedience is, undoubtedly so, but is more than the existing violence. Civil disobedience is the only non-violent escape from the violence of the law. The danger lies only in one direction, as the outbreak of violence only by the side with civil disobedience. If a man I know him the way, not the violence as at the time of Gandhi. The danger, as freedom, is, of non-violence against violence to make from what quarter the latter comes, and violence will a single representative is left alone. More no man can do, to do this would be tantamount to want of faith.

M. K. Gandhi

Some Questions

With reference to the universal civil disobedience some persons questions have been put by friends as well as others. These are answered—

Q. Surely you are not so ignorant as to start your campaign without letting the authorities know your plan, and giving them an opportunity of warning, you and arresting you?

A. Those who know my past should know that I told it to the authority in Hyderabad in the earliest words or immediately. My plan will be certainly sent to the Viceroy before I take any definite step. Hyderabad has no reason to keep them but ignorance or so-called enemy.

Q. Did you not say some of Lahore that the country was not prepared for civil disobedience, especially, such attempts as a mass scale?

A. I am not clear now what I said. But it has become clear to me as never before that the impression was in the mind that a non-violent struggle is waiting will as have gone by, very likely because as it has been continuing all these years. There was one moment, I know definitely, many showed their violent designs because in 1918 the Congress had decided to offer civil disobedience. That school has been more active than before because of my repeated declaration that the country was not prepared for civil disobedience. I feel also that if non-violence is an active force, as I know it is, it should work even in the face of the most violent atmosphere. Our difficulty in the way was that the Congress decided to represent the whole nation could not even will offer civil disobedience and therefore responsibility for violence especially by Congressmen. I have passed decisions from that direction to taking over the

responsibility for launching my new Indiaism. I imposed on our best people and on the most brainy when I may need for the campaign. And I propose to persist in making myself only in those who are amenable to the Ashram discipline and have actually undergone it before me. It is true that I may not share responsibility infinitely for any violence that may break out on the part of the nation and in the course of the campaign. But such responsibility will always be there and can be only a degree more than the responsibility I share with the British rulers as they are against the nation as a whole as I give my responsibility however voluntarily and not as duty. For instance I give no compensation by paying those dead as Indians. The very old I can compel my voluntary operations. However it has dawned on me now as clearly as ever that if my non-violence has reduced the constant extension of violence which the British Imperialism rule in, it must suffer the crude and unrefined violence of the uneducated people who know not that by their reflectiveness they are but helping that imperialistic rule and making it in maintaining the very thing they seek to destroy. I am now so clearly so delighted that my non-violence working as it has done against the British empire has shaken it somewhat that as well as shake the counter violence of the period of taking revenge as with my hands I set my non-violence actively as motion in a civil disobedience I refuse the use of the methods of non-violence in a campaign by taking sole charge of the campaign. After all is said and done, however, I feel the truth of the description given to me by myself by the Father of India. It is indeed "the last stage of a gambler, I have been a 'gambler' all my life. In my pursuit for finding the truth and as reluctantly following out my faith in non-violence, I have caused no state too great. In doing so I have acted, if at all, in the company of the most distinguished spiritual of my age and my class.

Q. What about your much wanted faith in Hindu Mahatma? Of what value will your independence be without that faith?

A. My faith is that truly it is as bright as ever. I do not want independence in the end area of the western world, let alone the powerful Hindustan and the so long promised Africa. The Lahore Congress resolution so early really runs up all its previous effort in that behalf. The Congress takes out all solutions proposed on a non-violent basis. But if it is ever called to consider such a solution I will consider only that, which will give (not merely prove) but satisfactory to all the parties concerned. To be true to its word therefore, the Congress cannot accept any scheme of independence that does not give satisfaction, as far as national rights are concerned, to the parties concerned. The campaign that is about to be launched is calculated to generate passion for the whole nation to be independent. But it will not be so for all the parties have combined. To propose only disobedience which has nothing to do with consideration of the future is not at all well, to be more in a vicious circle and defeat the very end that all must have in view. What I am hoping is that the Congress being free from the communal shadow will

and if, if it remains true to the nation as a whole, to become the strongest nation party gradually guiding the nation of the nation's members. Such a Congress will have only interests of the nation, not self-interest. Till independence is achieved or till unity is decided it will have nothing to do with any other or future British Government of the day in competition with the members. Happy the Congress has now nothing to do with the Hindustan which have perhaps more than anything else increased communal bitterness. It is no doubt unfortunate that at the present moment the Congress contains largely only the Hindu element. But if the Congress Hindu comes to think unconsciously and will take an advantage that, cannot be shared in the full with all the other communities, it will gradually discuss all concerns and will extend to itself the widest among Hindustani, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, Jew and all those who are of India. But whether the Congress ever approaches that ideal or not, my reason is, as it always has been, perfectly clear. The unity among all men now here with me, I have founded it, and go up to it from my point of view. When I went to London as a man but in 1899 I believed in it as passionately as I do now. When I went to South Africa in 1903 I worked it out in every detail of my life. Love is deep rooted in it as it is so will not be abandoned even for the Indian of this whole world. Indeed the Congress should take the situation of the nation off the communal problem and to treat it as the thing that no concern to all Indians as matter to deal religiously to see they may bring.

Q. Then you will mean if you can, a force ultimately leads to the Truth?

A. Never. My love for non-violence is superior to any other thing manhood or supermanhood. It is superior only by my love for Truth which is to me synonymous with non-violence through which and which alone I can see and reach Truth. My scheme of life is a drama or a distance between different stages in India of this drama runs between different cross. I do not "mean it a man for it" that I extend upon the campaign so much out of my love for the Rightness in for the Indian. By self-sacrifice I seek to liberate him, never to destroy him.

Q. But may not all this be your hallucination that out never come to pass in the matter of last world of men?

A. It may not be that. It is not a change wholly subjective to me. My hallucinations in the past have served me well. That had is not expected to fail me. If it does, it will be harm me and those who may come or put themselves under its influence. If my hallucination is proved to be subjective, my body is almost at that stage. I want to see that which will give India a life of a greater danger than it is now, the loss of English authority is long enough and wrong enough to create any mischief that may come between Hindus and Cape Congress or Khurshi and Disraeli. Lastly in campaign and take place, if all the politicians and others instead of addressing themselves to me will address themselves to the members and with them to make the continuing wrong name of which I have unapologetically described in these pages.

M. K. Gandhi

'Buccannering Commission'

(By J. C. Chatterjee)

It is good that Indianisation seems to be taking its way to us well to interest the reader of some of the salient points in the history of Public Debt in India.

When the East India Company was taken over by the British the assets of the Company were audited and 400 Crores, while the liabilities were valued at 2000 Crores. These liabilities were mostly incurred by the Company in its wars with China, Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, Cape of Good Hope, Mexico, the Mauritius and the Moluccas. The Company was engaged to pay 10% interest on its capital of 100 million pounds without reference to profits and this was done from 1814 to 1824. It is estimated that debts taken over from the Company at 1814 weighed in at 100 million pounds.

Referring to the agreement with the Company, Robert Bagehot, a famous writer of the Times of India, says in his book and essay *Financial Relations* (1876, 17) "The Crown of England formally transferred whatever property the Company was pleased to make of their revenues, upon the responsible condition that the Company paid 400,000 pounds a year into the English exchequer as the interest alone of the loan. Cannot the fact, as we placed from ourselves, in place of one as we may, the simple truth is that the nation gave the Company a good businesslike guarantee to provide the prince and people of India as they pleased, on condition that an annual contribution of 400,000 pounds was made from the people into the English treasury."

Later the cost of the Military staff was added on. Regarding this John Bright says, "The 40 millions which the credit will cost is a grievous burden to place upon the people of India. It has come from the improvement of the Parliament and the people of England. If every man had what was put, no doubt 40 million pounds would have to be paid out of the taxes levied upon the people of this country."

Leaving aside even the so-called 'productive' debts which were really productive only so far as the Mutinies were concerned, the 'unproductive debts' amounted in 1874 to 100 crores! Money methods had been devised to cover up these odious charges. Half the Finance Income Grants of 180 lakhs a year had been used to wipe off these debts with a promise, that if a famine occurred, the revenue would be deducted in this account. (The other half of the Finance Grants was used in building railways which were not profitable.) About 30 crores were used in this way. The rest of the debts were written off against revenue surpluses which should have gone to improve irrigation systems. Thus 70-80 crores were written off and the 'unproductive debts' stood at only 3 million pounds in 1913.

In 1917 a further burden was thrown on India in the form of a 'Gift'. Peter was asked to pay India a gift of 100 million pounds. This was made to Great Britain by a body which did not represent the wishes of the people, and so was not considered as a 'gift' out of their funds. A newspaper wrote that this was one of the efforts to make 'Gifts' to a completely illiquid nation, and if the truth were known to

the British public, they would shake with abhorrence would be the first to return this so-called 'Gift'.

These transactions alone bring up the total of the Government's own public debts to over 500 million pounds, not including the interest that has been paid on the same debts.

When the world, India, comes of age, it has a right to demand an account from the 'Trustee'. This is a perfectly businesslike proposition. The debts were not incurred by India herself, and so she cannot be held responsible until she settles the discharge of the 'trustee', and then she can only do after a careful scrutiny of accounts. Much of the debts are now incurred for her sole benefit and without the world being really bound to accept liability for it. At present there is no National Debt of India as there is no National Government, and only a Government that represents the people can pledge the credit of the Nation. Its affairs must be its right to assume burden, which cannot be strictly charged to its people, can be regarded the credit of generations yet unborn for expenditures not to their interest.

The loss of the British empire, as shown by the Indianisation of the posts of Government Ministers, is hardly exaggerated. Much of the debts are now not taken over by India, would have to be shouldered by the Government of Great Britain if they are not to break faith with the creditors. In their conscience the term 'unproductive' is not a happy expression, for in the popular mind it has been associated of late with a certain meaning, signifying a waste of national resources of one's liabilities. There can be no repudiation of liability to the creditors, but the settlement is, between the National Government of India and the Government of Great Britain. Since one of these governments will have to be responsible for the whole concept of the debt, it is the creditor who has a good right.

There is thus nothing accidental, or merely coincidental in a third businesslike appearance of the burden which each Government has to bear and there is absolutely nothing so it to damage the credit of India. On the other hand the credit of a body which carries liability only after weighing up the situation carefully ought to be enhanced like that of a prudent business man, who considers every item that goes into his account and does not incur liabilities lightly.

From the details given above, the reader will see that the demand of the Gora and Lalau Congresses is but for a righteous settlement of accounts, not a 'warrior' with a clear conscience, for from obtaining a well understood and a demand for providing her with an opportunity of vindicating her sovereignty.

[As the public have a short memory I reproduce below the two Congress resolutions which have been adopted by Lalau Congress and which have been of no represented here and abroad.]

Gora Congress Resolution (1933)

"Whereas, by means of world-wide, unending expenditures and other extravaganzas, the Government has brought the national Indianisation to a point beyond recovery; and whereas the Government will pursue the same policy of extravaganzas under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the villages of a majority or any substantial fraction of the voters

and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people.

"And whereas if the Government is permitted to continue this policy, it will become responsible for the people of India were to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people, and it has therefore become necessary to strip the crown of responsibility.

"The Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the Legislature that have been or may be formed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of the said legislatures in favour to raise loans or to incur any liabilities on behalf of the nation, and wishes in the words used in the statement of Swarajya the people of India, though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities actually or wrongly incurred by the Government, will not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after the date of the authority or sanction of the aforesaid legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott.

Lahore Congress Resolution (1928)

"This Congress is of opinion that the financial burden directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as to have become almost unbearable and cannot be expected to last. This Congress, whilst reaffirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1926, therefore requests the Government for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be entered by independent India will be strictly subject to consideration by its independent national, and every obligation, every concession, no matter how secured or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such national to be just and profitable.

"The Gaya resolution is nearly forgotten and even discarded at the expense of posterity, so that it makes the people liable for the then existing debts whether 'legally or wrongly incurred'. The Lahore resolution repudiates the mortgage and adopts the 'honourable and moral method of reimbursing all accounts, past, present and future when the time comes, in the manner of an indebted debtor. What happens when an entrepreneur or a business man takes out a loan in London? Does not the company demand regular instalments to the company bank? Are not these accounts settled in London? The future national Government will bring its trust at the very threshold of its career, if it fails to perform the solemn duty of reimbursing in the desired manner all the obligations it was taken over. If Lord Borneo and India are then solvent, no creditor need fear the loss of a penny at a time. For whenever India takes over, she will have to pay. Whether or cannot be changed justly against her has to be taken over as a matter of course by Great Britain. It is only the present Indian-owned India that is made to pay nothing but will what cannot be justly changed against her. When the time comes for reckoning, it will be the sacred duty of India's creditors to repudiate every loan which proved to be unjust. But that would mean merely to forfeit and just transactions about which the investor, the capitalists and the like need not be concerned.

M. K. G.]

'The British Destroyer'

(Continued from page 61)

ruled at the country, they sailed down to it, and whatever was the condition of their rule, according to the character of the attempts of the day, there was at least no material or moral decay in the country. Whatever the country produced consisted in the country; whatever wealth and experience was acquired in her services remained among her own people. While the English the case is peculiar. There are the great wounds of the last wars at the houses of the public debt, and deep wounds are kept perpetually open and widening by draining away the life blood in a continuous stream. The former rulers were like footmen locking keys and doors, but the English with their scientific method cut to the very heart, and put in a door as it were to be seen, and made the plunder of the high talk of civilization, progress, and what not cover up the wound. The English rulers stand against the first door of India, challenging the whole world, that they do and shall protect India against all comers, and themselves carry away by a back door the very treasure they stand against to protect.

A serious indictment was never issued, and the fifty years since a man written here, as has been shown by the few facts and figures given in this article, only make the work of a lion with multifold fire and agony.

And yet Dalhousie stated that better times might prevail and the money would be repaid. He, however, never believed in his own statement given evidence. He was responsible for the wrong, and this was perhaps the last in the way of his having the doors of England. "Nations always followed upon misgovernment, and as Lord Dalhousie once said, 'Ignorance will bring the nightmare of the earth to men.' I do not see why England should be a monopoly to that rule. Dalhousie's rule had given the people security of life and property but of what value is there was a life which meant death by starvation or disease, as of what good was property when it was only produced for the benefit of Great Britain."

We wonder that the millions who approved of the Independence Declaration on the 26th of January did so on the faith that the rule which had ruled cruelly on property must be destroyed by the sheer weight of it.

M. D.

Cow Service Association

MEMBERS 1938

27 Dattatraya Dalhousie Kalyan Chavhan	Rs. 1,000
28 Chhaganlal Khandekar Chaudh. Vignar	500
29 Mangal Marbhakar Patel Sahasrab.	500
30 Mahabhar Patel	500
31 Narayan Khandekar Chaudh. Sahasrab.	10,000
32 Khandekar Chavhan	

Thresh	Cattle	12,000
33 Vardhman	Bulls	1,000

Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 advanced their work to

11,000, 4,149 and 4,500 respectively.

TABLE OF MEMBERS

Shankar Chavhan	Cattle	1,000
Chhagan Parbhakar	Patel	15,000
V. D. Patel	Rangas	1,000

Customs Duty

The Government system of assessing a market value for imported merchandise, has been the last of articles to be discussed. It is not that about half of the duty comes from the Government system. There again the burden of the tax falls on the poor. This revenue is 47% of the total national income, it is 22.7% and in Japan only 16.7%.

Excise

Excise duties are thereby no longer and despite the fact that in a commercial sense a homogeneous country like India can not policy is not modified by external considerations. While even England taxes her objectives are fixed to the extent of 35% and Japan to the extent of 47%, India puts it down lightly at 12.5%. It is interesting to note that in Japan cotton textiles are exempt from the tax on textiles (which is 41% of the 41% under India). In the way Japan has exempted her industries, while our Government's intention seems to be in the first place to tax, previously taxed cotton industry in its new form. There is another factor that has impeded our progress—the lack of a cottage industry to fill up the idle hours during the day which average over 30% of the time over the year. We have succeeded in our village to lead his cattle etc. even during the season when there is no work in the fields. He cannot go out seeking employment in cities. During these idle days he should be in a position to gain something. Under the old system he spun his yarn and made his own clothes, but under the British regime he is left unemployed. When the home industry was destroyed, nothing else was found to take its place. In Switzerland much industry in Geneva proved making and in Austria after blowing are cottage industries founded by their respective governments. But in India the home seems to exist but to pay taxes. Both in Great Britain and in Japan while cotton was also taxed, but in India, as this will tell on the cost of "China goods" there is no work remaining.

The revenue under system does not call for much comment.

Salt Tax

The last in the series that on our taxation system is a tax on a creature living like our people amount of salt is needed in the diet and in a tropical country a greater quantity is used in the household for preserving various articles from corruption. What is more, the poorer people whose means derive very little from day to day require a good deal more than the upper and the middle classes. We have already seen that the cost of our tax system, heavy, heavy, on the poor, and that is the last straw to break the camel's back. If the people had all they needed, the consumption of salt should be moderate, but the whole revenue is derived with every change in duty imposed directly on them that the tax makes the people that on their most essential article of diet. In India a tax on salt is almost as bad as a tax on good drinking water. They are still a highly regressive type actually and indirectly. The poorer the class the more he pays, and a large share of his income goes there from the other men. In the other words of the Income Taxpayers Convention, "it falls on a necessary of life, and to the extent that salt is essential for physical sustenance, it is on the nature of a poll tax. The bulk of it is paid by those who are least able to contribute

anything towards the State expenditure. Salt is also required for various industrial and agricultural operations and for cattle. Unless it is taxed free for these purposes, some burden is thrown upon the industries in which it is used." Even a most ardent country like England abolished the duty on salt from a hundred years ago. Japan which received a subsidy of about 10 crores for the salt monopoly abolished it in 1915 in consideration of "local produce" it is seriously said that even at almost cost and for agriculture, fisheries etc. it was better cost. In India the cost runs a great deal more to eight pice per maund, and the tax is about 1850% on cost.

"The policy of salt tax is, therefore, to be considered on much as general principle as on the ground of its relation to the special condition in India. Indeed it is a critical administration in the world, where Finance Minister hopes, as he says, to secure no one upon the coast to read or to be collected would such a duty be referred for a moment" (Monograph on Salt, page 5. Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries).

Salt and Cancer

The Editor, Young India,

Dear Sir,

From the story I learn you are submitting the abolition of the 'Salt Tax' in India. I have pleasure in wishing you beneath my banners on the possible next cause of cancer, and other pernicious diseases. If my theory should prove sound, I would say, that the 'Salt Tax' is a blessing in disguise to the Indian people. The two cancer death rate of India I attribute to the world's too broad consumption of excessive salt, as compared with the high cancer rate in Louisiana and other countries, where the consumption of salt is on many farms is very excessive. From all parts of the world I am receiving great encouragement from medical men, amongst whom are some of the most distinguished in cancer research. Please note in particular my latest broadcast (I might coloured circles) wherein my views are given in its concluding startling scientific reports.

Yours faithfully,

Frederic T. Harwood

[I gladly publish this letter. I have glimpsed of the treasure. As an actual local reformer I have been without any salt for over six years. Even now I take very little salt internally. But even a local reformer like me has many other uses of salt. To cure a cold, a hot salt water wash decides it offhand. As a tooth powder finely powdered salt is perfect. The way to keep people healthier on salt is not to tax that otherwise most valuable commodity. And there is what is one of the best of civilized people, why one provide for themselves every variety of excellent and salt charged food that the earth can produce in the largeness of man's imagination, may not be true of millions who are uneducated and live in the face of their uneducated state. When can we work correctly, and then do not need much more salt than they get. At the rate there are doctors who do say that India's millions need more salt than they eat, and that the salt that you need much more than the poor farmers are afraid to give them.]

[E. K. G.]

Notes

The National Flag

The motto for National Flag is *satyameva Jayate*, the very essence of the contents. Still, it has, come down on colours, and the country will do. It should be remembered that the National flag, its history, nature, only by convention and not by any Congress resolution. With the growing consciousness of citizens, Congressmen have begun to dilute the universal meaning that is intrinsic of the design I gave to the colours on the flag. A very recent one days ago, and see a picture describing a man wearing a lady gown to the colours. So far as I recall her speech, and was suggestive of lewdness, given of colours and what of party. I have no intention in accepting this meaning as the place of mine. When we have achieved least unity, there is no doubt that we shall be satisfied of avoiding things which lead us to but to plebeian wearing ornaments in the colour. When we are finally united, we shall never need to remember our differences, we shall want to forget them as soon as we can. But we shall always need to cultivate and respect the virtues of honesty, valour and piety. The new citizen franchise should not at all its differences about the colour. As for the meaning which, I shall be sorry to find anybody objecting to the which which means energy, which leads for good and the evil, and which ever means Congressmen that is anything that they say do, they shall not forget the motto.

Smoking Habitues

A correspondent writes

"Section 413 of the Indian Railway Act says—

"Any person smoking without consent of the fellow passengers in any railway carriage and provided for the purpose shall be punished with fine and travelling expenses, namely, and if he persists in so smoking, may be removed by any railway servant from the presence of the railway."

"Why do not the habitues enforce it? Why do not the passengers enforce it?"

In this case at any rate the habitues are not to blame. Unless the passenger affected complains the railway authorities can take no action. The passengers can do much to abate the nuisance, which is very real. The number of the world over is perhaps the most remarkable of all the evils of India. He who is for granted that everybody else smokes or smokes in. He will part with many things before he will part with his pipe. He will spit anywhere and smoke as you see him and expect you to wipe the smoke, and then comes up to that of you. And it would be the height of incidents if you were to point against the enjoyment thus done on you. Our powerful judiciary enables the Indian smoker to puff his fumes contemptuously in indifference. And as the smoker in India appears to have acquired a consciousness right to smoke of himself a pleasure. Who can deny that he is in a respect? For of the travelling public almost every other man has made with a smoking tobacco in one form or other. The only remedy is for passengers to come out being, who will continuously ask the official not smokers to desert from smoking, and then if need be,

to report to the authorities. Of course the last course is to shun him, to report smoking compartments or perhaps to report a complaint to the authorities.

M. K. G.

History of Salt Manufacture

[The following is abstracted from the publication *Steel and National Progress, 1930-32*. Many details have been furnished since in no form less. Historical study, especially is drawn by the publisher in brief form. Only the whole people were aware in the grip of the salt has come to the profitable days. It was reserved by the British Government to reduce the price to a perfect formula covering every man, woman, child and beast.

M. K. G.

From time immemorial a tax on salt has been a source of revenue in India. The salt revenue is estimated by a duty on all salt exported out of manufactured in India. The rate of duty has in past times varied from 1 anna 1 in Dacca to 3½ annas in Bengal per maund of 42½ lbs. In 1862 a general duty of Rs. 2 per maund was introduced (initially in Dacca) and this was raised in 1878 to Rs. 2½. In 1902 the rate of Rs. 2 was extended to and in March 1903 the tax was further reduced to Rs. 1, per maund. A further reduction to one anna (or 16½ paise) per maund was effected in March 1907. In 1908 the rate has remained since 1908 at one anna per maund or imported salt, and a system has been introduced by which the greater part of the salt which is locally produced pays a duty of 8 annas per maund.

Northern India—The salt revenue under the control of the Northern India Salt Department comprises: (i) the Rajasthan sources, including the Bambar lake and the brine springs at Pushkara and Deharu in the Jodhpur area, and (ii) the Punjab sources, including the Mayo, Wazir, and Bahawalpur wells, the Bahawal wells, the Muzil wells, and the brine springs at Bahawalpur. The most important sources are the Bambar lake and the Mayo wells. Since 1876, when the lake was leased by the Government of India, over 134 millions maunds of salt have been taken from it, and the increased production is most credit balance of over 2,000,000. Owing to leech that the Bambar salt was becoming exhausted, a long search for alternative salt sources has been conducted through the bed of the lake, while confined storage and evaporating reservoirs have been constructed. Owing to steady modified depletion of the lake bed from 4,000,000 maunds to 4,100,000 maunds. The labour supply also appears to have fallen off perceptibly. The Bambar salt would at a average price of 4 annas per maund, with a charge of three paise for clearance, the value in 1912-13 amounted to ₹217,380 maunds. The price of the Bahawal salt was 2 annas, and the price of the Pushkara salt 1½ annas, with a charge of 2 paise for clearance. The value from the Mayo and other Punjab sources amounted to 5,000,000 maunds. The Mayo salt is sold for 10 paise per maund, or at the Khewra depot, for 12. Bahawal salt, on the average, costs about 14 paise. The gross revenue of the Northern India Salt Department in 1912-13 was ₹299,210, or ₹22,091 less than in 1909-10, while the total charges amounted to ₹ 81,283. The total quantity used by the Department for consumption was 5,714,464 maunds, as compared with 11,044,990 maunds in 1909-10.

Raising False Hopes

(By M. K. Gokhale)

With the danger imminent among the masses, here in danger of Congressmen raising thoughts and raising false hopes which may never be realised. As an illustration I have before me a Hindi circular issued by a Youth League which reads as follows. I've purposely retained these:

"Our disaster will stop altogether"

"Although our roads have been closed, all will get overhauled and be strong"

"Child mortality will decrease"

"Famine will not be reported in foreign papers"

"Riots will cease and all will be peace"

"Days and nights will ensure free constitution up to the age of 14"

"Life will be clean and healthy"

"Every one will have access to self-defence"

"There will be no child labour"

"Poverty and disease will be reduced"

The promises are admirable, but extravagant and hardly likely to be fulfilled by the mere fact of India gaining independence. None of the reforms hoped for will require transformation, special effort. Poverty, disease, crime, is undoubtedly responsible for many evils, but we need to remember that many promising evils are also a potent cause of the deterioration. Therefore the more throwing off of the foreign yoke, whilst it is so essential to the health, will mean be the overall.

Take the case of child labour. This will not stop for the mere independence. It will come by the good grace of our Member countries and will mean by hard thinking and harder working. It is much more an economic than a religious problem. If we know and acted according to the manner of now keeping, now teaching and some other things mentioned in these pages, the evil can be cured today. To insist on it as an expression of the future hope is to retard the process of its preservation.

I will be through the other items.

Cheap goods, etc., goods will come from applied knowledge, even from independence.

Child mortality will not decrease except by lowering poverty and reducing the whole population in the art of raising children.

Crime, if we produce more than we need, will certainly be reported as well for our benefit as that of mankind as a people.

Riots will cease only if we achieve our freedom by non-violent and peaceful means, not otherwise.

I doubt if we shall ever be able to give free education to boys and girls up to fourteen like 14. But we might be able to give their labour as free. This will happen if the nature of a nation rises above antiquity of education.

Life will be as busy as it is today unless we have complete liberation.

I am certain that every one will not have access to self-defence, but they will be much freer than the British have of arms will still be replaced but from wholly different motives from now.

There will be child labour in education, unless by the time we achieve freedom, that industry, and that have given place to rational work and self-interest.

I am not sure that perhaps can be further reduced. Perhaps may be.

But I may be wrong and the Youth League in question may be right. In my opinion of the capacity of independence to do things for us. The good is not who is right. The good is the state in that it is such and important to make heavy promises. It is worse than enough to be able to say without fear of contradiction, that independence means the removal of the greatest obstacle in the path of our economic, political, cultural and spiritual progress, that without the removal of that obstacle there is no progress, and that delay means national bankruptcy, suicide.

Khaddar Franchise

The claim in the Congress constitution regarding Co-operation in rural handicrafts and handloom products, as part of being safeguard from voting at monetary measures to come trouble. A correspondent writes:

"These Congress members, though they are chief to be in a foreign and India will make promises, do not hesitate to say when questioned, that in the face of their ability and knowledge they are devoted to Khaddar products. In the face of Pandit Madhavrao's demands in Calcutta for the chairman of Congress Co-operative meetings that should be elected such statements though they are generally false. Men are men who when challenged admit that they are not devoted to Khaddar are deluded. Can you not show a way out, or can not the Working Committee provide a remedy?"

The remedy that comes to me on the spot of the moment is that the chairman of such meetings should fairly rule out of order those who are manifestly not in any but Khaddar interests. Pandit Madhavrao's demands, was good, I imagine, is always a difficulty. If conditions are precedent, and he will himself refuse to be bound by a demand which will make serious me considered. On the eve of the past struggle that we are about to enter upon, it belongs all Congressmen to carry out the Congress constitution honestly. Those who do not like the Khaddar cause are free to explain for its repeal but they are no longer bound to give effect to it while it forms part of the constitution.

Another correspondent asks questions which present an difficulty. The following answers obviate the necessity of copying the questions.

1. No one at the time of becoming a four year member is obliged to wear Khaddar. The idea behind the working of the clause was that to induce every one who would subscribe to the ten article and give a stamp or the required quantity of village pice, and then to induce him to wear Khaddar.

2. Those who are entitled to vote at meetings must be labourers wearers of Khaddar. It is not enough therefore to wear Khaddar only for the purpose of attending Congress functions. But the practice has given up of not asking any further inquiry when a person attending my meeting, is found to be wearing Khaddar.

3. Those who are partly devoted to Khaddar cannot be considered Khaddar clad.

4. Still more clearly is not Khaddar

M. K. G.



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No. 10

Penal Sections of the Salt Act

[The following sections copied as abridged from the Bombay Salt Act and the Indian Salt Act will show the degree underlying their operation. The Bombay Act is a detailed reproduction of the Indian Act of 1923. Most of the penal sections of the Bombay Act show a reflection of the original which embody experience of administration and changes to be necessary. Only one section has been taken from the central Act. The reader will not find it strange to find sections which contain "provisions" on the part of the subordinate officers or even, possibly with amendments extending to it or modify. The word "provision" is not defined. But the reader will see amendments will have no difficulty in understanding what correction can possibly come in the administration of an Act which takes in its scope—Breach of license, breach, sale and storage, price, etc., etc., etc., and breach. M. K. G.]

Seizure, Detention, Search and Access

Section 1 of the Bombay Salt Act which is practically the same as Section 15-17 of the Indian Salt Act (VII of 1923) empowers any subordinate officer to do the following among other things:

1. To enter any place where salt manufacture is going on.

2. To enter any place where salt is stored and remove any salt which he has every reason to believe has been obtained from a person.

3. To take possession of any factory, salt chattri, manufactory.

4. To enter on any open space, or in a field, any place in which he has reason to believe salt is manufactured and any portion of a factory, or any other place in which salt is stored and the other contents, if any, of such factory, or manufactory, or place in which salt is stored, and any vessel, road or conveyance used or intended to be used in carrying, the same.

5. To detain any person, and if he thinks proper, arrest any person whom he has reason to believe is guilty of any offence punishable under this or any other law for the violation of any provision of this section, or to detain any person who is found.

Things liable to Confiscation

Section 50 of the Bombay Salt Act (in which has 12 of the Indian Salt Act, is incorporated) lays down that:

"All vessels, boats, and every vessel, covered or uncovered, used in carrying salt, and

all goods, packages and coverings in or among which concealed salt is found, and

every apparatus, implement, stand or material employed for the manufacture, storage, collection, or removal of salt without a license or for the purpose of obtaining salt at advantage contrary to any of the provisions of this Act or any rule made thereunder

shall be liable to confiscation."

Additional Punishment for Repeated Offences

Section 12 of the Indian Salt Act (Act VII of 1923) lays down, that:

"Any person convicted of an offence under Section 5, after having been previously convicted of an offence under that Section, or Section 11 of the Indian Customs Act, 1912, or under any enactment repealed by that Act, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, in addition to the punishment which may be inflicted for a first offence under Section 5 and every such person shall, upon every subsequent conviction of an offence under Section 5, be liable to imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months in addition to any term of imprisonment to which he was liable at his last previous conviction."

Duties of Officers

Section 46 of the Bombay Salt Act makes it "compulsory on every officer to do the following among other things:

1. To communicate to persons who are officers of the rank of a "Subordinate" or below the information concerning offences under the Act.

2. To supervise, for the purpose of preventing, and to prevent, by the use of all necessary means within his power the commission of any such offence.

Section 46A lays down among other things that any such officer shall:

"When a party of conviction shall be convicted before a magistrate be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to three months (or) or with both."

Salt-Boatmen and Salt-Indulgence

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Keweenaw, Young India

Young India

About The Letter

My letter in the *Victory* went on the last subject as introduced by the programme. Foremost have been criticised of its contents which are largely untrue. I wish these correspondents and the news agencies well instead of making the publication of news a matter merely of making money," thanked the public good. If there had been anything to give to the public, surely Pankaj (authorised) Mohan would have given it. But it was thought advisable to send him an advance beforehand from the Indian publishing house. I am not aware any fight. I am having no share and interest in it and I am fully for it at the moment. I feel that there is no impossible way out of it. Foremost publication of news is not obtained by means but always through capital and to be the function of journalists. I know that the newspapers tend to be the greatest in the world market. I cannot to them by some methods which are either wrong or. It makes it a hard to publish news which the foreign news must come after in the public interest to be held for the time being. But the last is a public interest to the moment, because most of the editorial news needed the Times. We have fully regard the value of news of news without commitment to the matter of publication of news to many others of still greater importance. I know that news is a value in the wilderness, though I speak with the authority of an individual experience of practical journalism for over twenty years, a successful publishing of news is a matter can be reported as such. It has in it now, the moment light includes among the points of attack the the habit of dropping everything to include. No one will accuse me of any, and English readers looked I pride myself on my discrimination. I have thoughtfully noted many things have been. Foremost, prominent, public figures, independent thinkers and writers of judgment and critical other things I see in my manuscript with them. They were having had the highest level of their mastery to be not and even having with a thought of naturally leading myself through correct official or otherwise with them, I have had the very good names of authors then with complete detachment. On the use of these therefore I would have better journalists against saying the English method of planning and publishing news. Let them study my subject method which was introduced long before I became a Mahatma, and before I had acquired any share of importance in the public life of India. It was a hard struggle but I stand in the field of journalism as in many others that it attracted friends and has during was undoubtedly, the last policy. Any character out of range or lead by double the length ought to be used. For these must be a testimony. I say all this not for the sake of making a house in follow journalists but for the sake of the struggle in which I would raise the co-operation of journalists whether they support it or oppose my methods of political wisdom. Let them get rid of the talk I am

about today. I'm big I'm old like these politicians, as long as nothing has been without being given checked to them. Government will not let it, without.

With this I'll publish I am aware the reader that the Indian economy is not a matter of much to be seriously noticed in the Indian. History in the knowledge of the nation. The newspaper subject was a young 19,19th named Magdalen Thackeray who came to India some years ago and who had in it that I had completely with the Indian cause. For not to writing of the letter was a subject not so the whole world as, and I selected an English friend as my messenger, because I wanted to have a further check upon myself against any intention, and that would have a single Englishman. If I have any sense of honour to me, this check should prove an automatic restraint upon any intention to place me also in India for the benefit and emotional satisfaction of a selfish will and, do not. Englishman is an act which was in spite of all my effort in the victory, in the loss of English life.

As for the letter itself, when the reader has the last before him, he will see that it is not an alteration, but it is a friendly, of day a fresh communication from one who considers himself to be a friend of English men. But the reader must hold himself in position for a while.

M. K. Gandhi

Students and Character

A retired Inspector of Schools (Punjab) writes:

"You might have noticed that there has been a considerable stir among the college students of our province since the last session of the Congress. A new line seems to be taking in the young heart. Being the chief stage of their life, and so nearly responsible for the character I might like to tell you will consider the following four points connected with the matter and give your opinion."

"1. I have not the least objection to the boys' exposure then here for their intellectual as their training for these days on proper persons without transgressing the bounds of true 'non violence'. But what they take to doing, in nature and out of nature, revolutionary aims clearly showing an aggressive or hostile spirit, I am afraid they are positively guilty of 'violence'. In this the cry 'Down, down with the British Jack' goes to the heart."

"2. Hardly anything worth the name of dress is to be seen in schools and colleges in the way of distinctive building. Will you, then, let our youth follow the example of the western, something showing real discipline and not making a sorry far show because dress is modern? Should not, the dress, formation of proper character in our young people in the best way of all approved?"

I have already written about the dress in a previous but must come of Young India. I fully agree that 'Down with the British Jack' results of violence. There are several other objectionable ways that have come into vogue. One who believes in non-violence even as a policy may not allow these aims. They do no good and may do harm. A disciplined group may well not allow these aims. It is certainly agreed to



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No. 11

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar Vallabhbhai is the one man who has been responsible for keeping the peace in Gujarat during these troubled times. He is the man whose urgent appeals to the Ahmedabad Municipal Board drew attention away from the Government. He is the man whose broken money put heart into the food-striking people of Gujarat in 1927 and when the Government machinery had broken down, his workers were responsible for saving the lives of thousands of people. It was Vallabhbhai Patel who urged a peaceful war in England the other day resulting in a settlement honorable to both the parties. This man of peace, this link of the Gujaratis, this successful king is now a prisoner for disrespecting a police prohibited speech when there was not in the smallest danger of breach of the peace. He had no gun, his audience knew his declaration the previous night of the Salt Act. He had gone quietly to prepare for my speech. He had no intention of being here or a hint. This morning, at 6.30, for my contemplated breach of the law. What is it to be said? I do not of corrupting and abusing the law, speaking, with a man's liberty in the name of the law?

And when is Sardar Young and free? He is in a house and again to sleep in the open and without any light. His prison food which may induce dysentery is rich in oil and fat. His only recreation may be religious books in a library, he wants no special treatment. But why should the movement be prevented, if it is no danger to safety, from sleeping under the sky in the hot weather? Why should a link with the stars light to read or write if he needs it? May not a machine read and record itself? And why should Sardar Vallabhbhai not have food that his health demands? But this is a matter of prison officials. Sardar Vallabhbhai is not the man whose right will be broken, if he does not get the necessary minimum comfort. But we the limited powers and demands under the Khaddar have surely insisted only the other day! The story of injustice will not be broken by chiefly treatment on the Indian prison. Only let those who have broken the proposed conference know what Dominion Status is when really comes.

Gujarat, my India, is preparing to vindicate the authority of the supreme law which will separate the other lawlessness transgressing under the name of law. The authorities have imprisoned Vallabhbhai in the hope that his work will stop. Before long they

will realize that his work will continue as if he were locked in the mill of his people. M. K. G.

P. D. Information has just been received that the Sarda is being better treated. He is to be allowed lawyers and the food he may need. M. K. G.

Replying the Question

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

"Mr. Bradbury the Younger desires me to acknowledge your letter of the 1st March. He regrets to hear that you contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace."

Yours very truly,

G. Cunningham
Prison Secretary"

The reader is familiar with this reply. It is all well, but that it begs the question and if further prosecution were asked, the necessary explanations of the Sarda were asked for him and I have received these replies.

It was open to the Secretary to demand me to leave the prison this night, but the whole world has been aware for years or nearly three days' notice. I do not know outside India any one who pays in the State Rs. 2 per year, if he comes Rs. 100 during that period. It was open to the Secretary to do many other things except sending the usual reply. But the law is not yet. He represents a nation that does not easily give in, that does not surrender. Every man deserves it. It is only a threat to physical force. It can witness with total health a better match for better without fight. It can go mad over a lost ball match or which there may be better laws. It can see someone over blood-curdling accounts of war. It will have also to make certain sacrifices. It will not part with the millions it normally draws from India to pay to any government, however righteous. The Secretary reply does not surprise me.

But I know that the salt tax has to go and many other things with it, if my better sense, which I hope there always can show how much of it was wrong.

The reply says I contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace. In spite of the threat of losing continuing rules and regulations, the only law that the nation knows is the will of the British administration, the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of a police prison India is too vast police house. It requires this law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the necessary company of the compulsory peace that is shaping the heart of the nation for want of law men. M. K. G.

I hope the friends saw the point of the joke. As I told him, my 2 sons really wanted this, they were in line the first and the last time when the Cooper would have, so he could have said two sentences or three words.

"Oh no, he said reassuringly, and in no way did he intend to be a living style," does it worry about the interview I don't want any one to interview me. That will only make it difficult for me that the newspaper will not be out of it."

For the *CONVEX* experiment the pilot continued to have positive results at the end.

How Sander was Implemented

Ever since the opening of Carl Gustafson's hall been on the tape, there have been long discussions over the tape and means of it. What surprised most was the attitude of several members of United Valhalla during all the talk. He hardly started any of the national cultural matters we had.

Gustafson's room. "How am I interested in them?" he said as he spoke. "Do as I want you to do. Let him go to bed and then I shall give you my programme, but an discussion held to be out. I believe in hardly starting on his programme. And he mentioned this position and the way just a day before his appearance, at Gustafson's entrance he had to participate in the discussion as in the last ground for the opening of the first batch of children. He was severely the first, and in some as it was decided, he not only for himself, but in dealing the last last, but to prove the people for a strong reception of Gustafson and his cultural fund when they would pass through the street. He started a few hours earlier than his usual hour for the meetings arranged by him, conferred with the workers and read up the stages of the march through the Rhine district and met the participants by a special message. He had, and on a last day, that the Folk Collection had issued a collection, which would have Government had taken up the challenge, and that the United Negroes and parties of volunteers had marched to Denmark where he was to go. He did need something in the disposition and said: "Well, Government is making the way easy for us."

And indeed the way had been made only for him. Before he and his party reached the place of the meeting, they looked for the meeting spot at a place called Kwa where there was to be no meeting. But just as they were preparing to leave and the road, the people had gathered in large numbers and occupied an house, something from the Sultan's tape. The Sultan, though he intended to leave, was not going to make a speech, except to tell them that they ought go to the other place where the meeting was to take place. But just as he was preparing to speak he was met with a crowd not to address the meeting under a Secretary of the Government. Instead he would prefer to destroy the nation. "Then, said the Magistrate, 'I asked you.' There had been no speech, no real demonstration but there it was, he was arrested. What this was happening, a regular police parade was going on before the Sultan's eye. It was a show both for Government and for us that such a display should be necessary for the arrest of a man like myself," said the Sultan. "It should have showed their government without their control themselves, to such people."

As HRS 10 was altered, the amount and time of the work with data made

"I hope that you will tell me," says the lawyer, however that has failed to say I'm not going to go to jail on the eve of New Year's and the District will still think the Company has nothing to be concerned of."

¹⁷ Let not Gwyneth forget that this girl was once a slave for opposing what Gwyneth felt should be by her mother and stronger parents, not women, paid in the hands of the religious. I should most have a people of women in those days, as not lay their hands on a man for conversion.

It is not duty to obey his commands. However, he is left free, that when he does command, I will do what I have said you do will. I have no more.

²Our history department is in the midst of suffering and seeking. The program is small, will be discontinued and the job is which we want all attention on the 1980s.

¹ For an up-to-date World Catalog, please consult the website of the International Commission on the History of Statistics at <http://www.ichs.org>.

[illegible][illegible]

"No, said the teacher. "You may not do this. It is
unlike yours."

¹⁰ I have not, I am aware of, asked the Museum.

"You could take out my road sign," he said, "and the Thuringians didn't do so."

The car was ready to take him to the Supreme Court, as ready as the Magistrate who would hear his case and the United Magistrate who would hear his appeal.

The morning to hold our own sales of the "Book of the Week." We had just finished the papers when we saw that the "Book" was about to pass the "Yellow" way to the end. We stood all in awe, waiting for the "Book" to be taken. The police who came to see us, "Book" enough to keep the law for a moment, and to "Yellow" on the "Book" and "Yellow," he knew of a kind of "Yellow" which killed the "Book." There was no "Yellow" on the "Book" on any of our "Yellow." Every one knew "Yellow" was the "Book" a laugh, and that was enough to show a "Yellow" was ready with a "Yellow" and "Yellow" each which the "Yellow" the "Yellow" "Yellow" "Yellow" was moved away, the "Yellow" smiled at the "Yellow" and said "Yellow" (as I was keeping "Yellow" ready for me.)

Young India

The Fourfold Curse

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

'The moral influence of British rule on personal character, on the conduct of women, on cultivation of public spirit, on the attitude to children, and the play and sports for outcasts the great national leaders expected by it. Thus writes the *Indian Daily News* of 7th March. I was surprised for the defence of the British rule at the hour of the day. It reminds me of a learned Indian scholar three years ago, at a conference that he was pained to view the British Theory as his master as he used all his knowledge in his British professor. A German scholar wife was present at the conference. I being my head in steam when I heard the learned sentences and the repeated clapping of it by the German's wife. One was in the same manner given by me as an exemplification of an cultural integrity which is worse than the material.

But the intellectual company, it may be the glass and thing to see that it is not the British rule but British conduct that has sustained whatever moral influence we may feel. Surely the two things are different and may well be contradictory. British conduct may be a gale-force. British rule may be a storm. And we may have the sea without the rain. My description of the rule as a storm, would be accurate even though a knowledge of the good influence of British conduct might be present with me at the time of giving the description. Personally I dispute much of the glorification whether of the Indian content or the British rule granted in the sentence quoted. But what it is to imagine that the nation are wholly unaffected by the influence described by the word 'in the doubtful character of the moral means on the educated few as simple as my simple nature for the propagation of influence? And what is that moral influence on the few educated among us? Are we more truthful, are we cleaner, are we more virtuous, are we more honest, are we loving, are we more? Are the words of the educated few better off than those of the masses who busily work in their fields without interference from their landlords? Is my aged, blind, decrepit daughter—the infirmable Indian to the moral content of a British being—better than among the masses? Are we less selfish than they? What do we do for the poor and the labour? How much do we not spend even from our superfluities for their sake? I need not probing the inquiry. I fear that On consideration in the very life and the comparison even that the city life has given us have made us too busy and too self-centred to study the conditions of rural India and to think for our relief.

Now do we fully realise the meaning of economic distress? It is before me in the sense that the obvious two related sins in India before us appear. We are an undivided land of hordes of human beings and in daily misery. The money takes from them a cruel word for the humanism. We are criticised by our moral as great good influence.

But the moral, really, consideration was that the Indian masses are much worse. If they are, our faults are again due to the British rule. The British have got ourselves to be good, they are opposed in every temptation to 'go wrong'. They are more respectable than they were before. The rule was then able to the extent closely govern over the masses are protected by the accompanying British power. It is true that they are free to do what good they like. But the lot those nations which they are given those liberty has given them a taste for pleasure and power they will not forget, and the influence which is imposed upon them is childlike as isolates them from that people as to make them strangers to their own land. It speaks volumes for the nation's choice that in spite of every evidence to the contrary, there are bright examples now and then to be seen. However the first weight of the British rule which 'wants' them and so, and they need an independent path of the same moral, land will grow as it by magic. But if they beg the sudden change that lead them to the British interest, they are at liberty to hold on to the chains. India cannot the same rule is under and will bear the rule no longer, even if it has to break in the attempt.

The evidence given in my letter to the Viceroy on the economic exploitation was inevitable for our purpose. But the moral and spiritual wrong which is a direct result of the foreign rule is probably greater even than the economic wrong. Those who are engaged in the way of their products are not, or are obscure, moved by the economic wrong. They do not feel it. They are moved solely by the moral and spiritual wrong which they feel in every fibre of their being. The description they want is the not, the very knowledge that a whole generation of which they are children has perished at the feet of a handful of men coming from a distant island like them with their and dogged with themselves? Is their temptation to look through the ready and they do not mind what they do so long as they do something, even though it may destroy them. I claim to have presented India with a statement ready for debate effectively with the landfall cause. The remedy is designed to her India and also Britain. It will not be long before her people will acknowledge that I am not their enemy. I claim to be their king and their lord and an equal time and more serious of India.

Misrepresentation

Having had words with some Hinduism, they are economic misrepresentations about me in the mass in the Indian press. A friend has brought the latest in my notice. It is in the effect that I have presented the Hinduism, as reason of the Hindu and an historical My enemies, have pushed the Hindu group of and members, on the plea that he could not otherwise be in accordance as an article of faith for achieving the national purpose. The fact is quite the reverse. Hinduism's wrong is on my list. He goes of other big Hinduism. I previously never had any difficulty about sending the message of non violence to the Queen. Hinduism is not putting the mark as for a few weeks to undertake the nation. But it is quite likely that he may still himself for more when the moral message of controlled non violence. Two Hinduism are actually opposed for the mark, as they have no dignity about, subsiding to the crowd of servilement.

for the purpose of forcing them to contribute money to a leader in two ways. But the general thing is regarded about a person's interest, everything is done because interest. The present plan of campaign is so designed as ultimately to elicit all support.

M. E. G.

What It Is Not

18. M. E. G. writes:

Marked Men: As is proved to have, and that for independence was shown as a movement not for Henry the House of and against Hunsdram, that there has been the latter should have it alone. On reading the report I sent to the Marked men regarding whether he was correctly reported. He has kindly replied confirming the report. The Marked has launched a paper clearly against the movement. It seems to be expected now for all. Whether the movement is, it actually is not for Henry the House, nor is it against Hunsdram. It seems with that a complete answer to the charge. The Congress has taken the first step in local self-cooperation. No Congressman can enter the Legislature, much less accept employment under the Government. No Congressman can seek or receive favors from the Government. Does not the Marked-Hunsdram question seem really a division of political power—specific of office? How can the movement be (Marked) or for Henry the House when we are identified with it too the desire nature of independence is studied, of possessing any political power? Thus, the Congress has still left upon the entrance in local hands. What is at present going on in California doesn't make me think that instead of being weak, I should have pointed for the largest vote of those hands. The Congress is better without those temple men. They are just now more useful for the country or the whole rather than controversy of national service for the patriot. But I am sure the Marked did not have the local hands in mind when he said that the movement was against Hunsdram. The only ground for the belief, as so far as I can believe it, can be that those who are engaged in it, must be the very nature because in the self-interest, more distant and more capable of reaching any compromise on their liberty than before, and that since the vast majority of them are Marked, they will in course of time become more powerful than the Hunsdram. For such reasoning would be quarterly of the latter. Moreover I have known long to be. He must therefore explain to the public what he meant by his various charges.

I grant, that if all the rest of the chapter only Marked join the movement in the right spirit, they will become an irresistible force of the right, i. e., uncorrupted type. But the obvious defectiveness from this fact, is that all those who are listening about should join the movement at the instant moment. And I suppose, that if the movement brings the charged point, the Marked and the other Hunsdram, Sells, Christians, Parris, have the will to join it.

Surely all are equally interested in restoring respect of the self too. Do all all need and are self equally? That is the one law which is an aspect of power.

Civil disobedience is a process of developing personal strength and freedom as express growth. Resistance is the self too the first, as might, as might, as might.

On the strength of self, it is necessary, help the discipline against me, the government.

As against the movement, a movement of gaining and not, not the movement, movement and diplomatic method of a House of Hunsdram, in which including interests will be represented by interested parties, and all the other groups together will be moved and dominated by the movement and self-interest of the British group. The movement without the power of the people behind it and composed of the powerful and the weak will bring nothing but Henry. In the coming year, upon the whole, it can only result in further consolidating the British power.

Civil resistance can have nothing to do with such a conference. Their business is merely to promote and conserve national strength. They have nothing to do with opposition. But if they are compelled by force of circumstances to participate in a political action, they are pledged only to consider such action to be satisfactory in the nation concerned. Here the Marked can tell such a movement and Marked or see for Henry the House, Parris, Christians, Parris.

The fact that those taking part in the movement are predominantly Marked is substantially true. By promoting a largest the Marked in helping the process. Even so, there can be no harm, if the Marked civil resistance are helping out for themselves, but for all-Hunsdram, Sells, Christians, Parris, and others who will make the nation of the future free hands.

My much sympathetic is required to see that even when civil resistance has required sufficient resistance to make themselves felt, it will still be open to any one at the time of having a contribution to Mark the way. The only time, when otherwise, is that Hunsdram or Marked or any other, will be helpful against the civil resistance, as when they drive out the English or when the latter refuse to a half or to dissent. In the first place, however, they are never to do that if their cause is actually peaceful liberty. Hunsdram drive all can help themselves and the nation by joining the struggle. Thirdly, if no reliance on the part of the people is allowed, civil resistance may result in complete domination of the English. They must then consider it their duty, it will be their purpose, to help us, at their own expense, to arrive at a solution of the many difficulties of which they will save themselves to have been the others. They will help us in absolute equal and kind to participate in independent against Government.

As for the influence felt by the Marked against me personally, I need not say much. Since I have an understanding of me, I suppose that when the paper has needed done, and when he discovers that I am not really of the party and he completely against me, he will return me to 'his pocket' in which I had the honor to be only the other day as it were. For it is not I who have gone out of his pocket. He has driven me out of it. I am the same little man that I used to be in 1871. I can never be an enemy of Hunsdram, no matter what any one or more of them may do to him or mine, even as I can never be an enemy of Hunsdram, even though they may keep looking wrong upon the ground of wrongs their representatives have already paid. I am too conscious of the implications of the spirit in which I belong to be

A Chrono Call

The month that brings the Ashram prayers were so busy on Monday that the Prayer Group could not hold them and we had to descend to the bed of the river. It was impossible for Gandhi to make his evening rounds to the members of the Ashram or to those who were about to work. At the end of the month, therefore, Gandhi used the occasion to deliver his message to the people at large. The meeting which gathered over two thousand men and women listened with patient attention. I am tempted to give a condensed summary of the whole speech for the benefit of all the readers of Young India.

"I am glad that you have been coming to my prayer in such large numbers, and generally. I would say, 'May your will be done!' But I must wait a few weeks of morning. It is a more serious duty that draws you here, you had better not come at all. If it is for prayer that attracts you, you are quite welcome, but in that case the robes must be changed for the accustomed lot. But I promise you some help for the prayer and for understanding the significance of the campaign I am about to launch.

"As for the prayer, I assure you that more attention must be given to the power of God in it as well. All your trouble in coming this long distance from the town, would be wasted and the goal of our prayer would be obstructed. If therefore your desire to take part in the prayer is genuine, you must be prepared to fulfil a condition which alone can give your time value, and that is that you must have devoted to Kshatriya. You may be busy with about the many claims made on behalf of Kshatriya, but one thing is now practically universally admitted, that Kshatriya takes the water to the present of the land. And I may tell you that but for the persons that Kshatriya has made of recent years, I should not have been able to launch this campaign. It is the spirit of Kshatriya that allows us to hope that the message of non-violence has spread to the masses, but I have always associated non-violence with Kshatriya. A believer in violence may view Kshatriya, but he would do so in order to exploit it.

"As for the other duties that also prompt you to come here, you know that the month begins on Wednesday morning. Every one is on the topic of non-violence, and before anything has happened the thing has attracted world-wide attention. Now I should like to analyse the thing for you and to explain to you its significance in the long run. Though the battle is to begin in a couple of days, here is it that you can start here quite heartily. I do not think any one of you would be here if you had to face rifleshots or bombs. But you have no fear of rifleshots or bombs. Why? Suppose I had announced that I was going to launch a violent campaign (not necessarily with arms armed with rifles, but even with sticks or stones), do you think the Government would have told me how you would be? Can you show me an example in history (be it England, America or Russia), where the State has tolerated violent defiance of authority for a couple of days? But you know that the Government is provoked and perplexed. And you have come here, because you have been conditioned by now with the idea of making voluntary improvement.

- No. 38 Kshatriya student, 25.
- No. 39 Do do.
- No. 40 Do do.
- No. 41 Do do.
- No. 42 Now-co-opted to 1820 from Grant Medical College, passes Kshatriya student in Gujarat, son of Vallabhbhai Patel's volunteers in Firoz and Feroze Bhai, 20.
- No. 43 Graduate, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, in the office staff, 27.
- No. 44 Teacher, 18.
- No. 45 Kshatriya student, 20.
- No. 46 Graduate, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Professor of Hindi, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, 23.
- No. 47 Christian, Diploma of the Indian Dairy Department, Worker in Cow Service Association, 23.
- No. 48 Graduate of the Jawah University and Kshatriya student, 23.
- No. 49 Kshatriya student, 23.
- No. 50 W. in cotton business, 23.
- No. 51 Worker in Gujarat Flood Relief, and Kshatriya Department, 23.
- No. 52-53 Kshatriya student, 23.
- No. 54 B. A. (Hon.) Teacher in Ashram School, 24.
- No. 55 B. A. (Kshatriya), War Insurance in Kanika, 27.
- No. 56 B. A. (Hon.) Kshatriya student, 27.
- No. 57 Kshatriya student, 20.
- No. 58 M. A. Ph. D. (Winnipeg), War and Insurance from America, 24.
- No. 59 B. A. (Hon.), Son of a retired Executive Engineer, 24.
- No. 60 Kshatriya student, 18.
- No. 61 Do do.
- No. 62 Son in N.Y., destined to go to India to qualify as a personal worker, 20.
- No. 63 Kshatriya student, 20.
- No. 64 Do do.
- No. 65 Now-co-opted from Grant Medical College, passes Kshatriya student, son of Vallabhbhai Patel's volunteers in Firoz and Feroze Bhai, 23.
- No. 66 Kshatriya student, 25.
- No. 67 Do do.
- No. 68 Kshatriya student, left Government Service in Bengal, 44.
- No. 69 B. A. (Hon.) Teacher, 23.
- No. 70 Kshatriya student, 20.
- No. 71 War Secretary, Analysis Campaign Committee, went to jail in 1934, 24.
- No. 72 Kshatriya student, 23.
- No. 73 'Unreliable' worker, 23.
- No. 74 Belongs to the Unreliable Ashram in Gadhara, 18.
- No. 75 Teacher, 20.
- No. 76 An old inmate of the Ashram, belongs to No. 100 School, Barwan, 40.
- No. 77 Kshatriya student, 24.
- No. 78 War Minister Ashram Chairman, (left returned from South Africa, passed son of Gandhi, 27.
- No. 79 Graduate scholar and now in charge of the Ashram, January 22.
- No. 78 B. A., Teacher, 23.
- No. 79 Graduate of Gujarat Vidyapeeth, 23.

Gandhi's Letter to Viceroy No threat but a Sacred Duty

The following is the full text of Gandhi's now famous letter addressed to the Viceroy on the 3rd instant:

British Rule—A Curse

SHANTANU DASGUPTA,

Kolkata, March 3rd 1930.

DEAR VICEROY,

Before embarking on Civil Disobedience and taking the risk I have decided to take all these years, I would like approach you and feel a way out.

My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot tolerate anything that has made less happy Indian homes, even though they may do the apparent wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate system by any law in India.

I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen as guilty to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the prejudice of classing every Englishman as innocent friends. Indeed, such that I have feared of the end of British rule is due to the wrongs of French and Portuguese Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the respectable trade class that rule.

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a thoroughly expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has refused to publicly to withdraw. It has suppressed the freedom of the nation. And, by the policy of strict dominion, it has degraded its nobility. Lacking the moral strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal dominion, to a state bordering on overtaken helplessness.

In common with many of my countrymen, I had hoped the final stage that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a solution. But, when you said clearly that you could not give any assurance that you or the British Cabinet would pledge themselves to support a scheme of full Dominion Status, the Round Table Conference could not possibly furnish the solution for which most India is渴慕, and the dumb millions are unconsciously, thereby. Members to my mind never saw any question of Parliament's work being interrupted. Indians are not waiting of the British Cabinet, in co-operation of the Parliamentary system, having placed itself in a particular policy.

The India question being examined, there was no concern for British Model States and one had to take steps to carry out the scheme resolution of the Congress passed at its Calcutta or its Geneva in 1925.

The Trend of British Policy

For the Resolution of Independence should come to mind, of the word Dominion Status mentioned in past announcements had been used in its accepted sense. For, has it not been admitted by responsible British officials, that Dominion Status is virtual Independence? When however, I fear is that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion Status to India as the immediate future.

For this is all past history. Since the announcements, many events have happened which show, unmistakably, the trend of British policy.

It seems as clear as daylight that responsible British gentlemen do not contemplate any discussion on British policy that might adversely affect British commerce with India or require any important and the structure of British commerce with India. If anything is done to end the process of exploitation India must be held with an ever increasing speed. The Finance Minister repeats as a matter of fact the 100 years which by a stroke of the pen reduce India of a few crores. And when a person attempts to bring India through a civil form of direct action, to practice this fact, among many others, even just cannot tell, I wonder in the wealthy landed classes to help you to reach that attempt in the case of an order that grade India is above.

Under those who work on the mind of the nation, and keep before all concerned, the message that has behind the covering for Independence, there is every danger of Independence itself coming to be so changed as to be of no value. In those telling countless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking. It is for that reason that I have been recently telling the public when Independence should really mean.

What Independence Means

Let me put before you some of the salient points.

The taxable persons of that revenue, which furnishes a large part of the total, most welcome considerable contribution to an Independent India. Even the much valued permanent saltworks besides the few salt. Zaminars and the like. The salt has increased as before as ever. It is a more important well. For salt, that, has the total revenue to be considerably reduced, but the whole revenue system has to be so revised, as to make the system good a person as ever. But the British system seems to be designed to reach the very life out of him. Even the salt tax, and it is to say it, so based as to make the burden still heavier on him, if only because of the loss of the responsibility of its collection. The tax alone shall still upon businesses as the first step when it is announced that salt is the one thing he must not stop. But the salt tax both individually and collectively. The death and drug revenue, too, is derived from the poor. It says the government both of their health and wealth. It is intended under the false plea of individual freedom, too, as reality, is maintained by the over sales. The majority of the nation, of the revenue of 1899 amounted the revenue to be retained responsible part of openly, so as to show the burden of production on it, from the very beginning, rendering it profitable for good. If the salt tax should stop and the revenue for most other industries, even as the existing circumstances to be as new source of replacing that revenue. If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, i.e., handicrafts, has reduced their capacity for producing wealth. The sale of India's resources is not complete without reference to the habitation scattered in her name. Saltworks has been recently told about them in the public press. It must be the duty of a free India to reform all the habitation

in the general administration and training, those that could be adapted by an expert individual in his special field.

A Biggering Phenomenon

The figures sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a longer administration, demonstrably the least expensive in the world. Take just one salary. It is now Rs. 25,000 per month, besides many other indirect salaries. The French Congo Minister gets £ 3,000 per year, i. e., over Rs. 24,000 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 100 per day against India's average income of less than seven 2 per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 100 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 per day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. The British Congo Minister is getting only twenty times Britain's average income. On budget lines I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have not given a report for you as a man in work to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an extravagant despatch to be seriously criticised. What is true of the Colonial salary is true generally of the whole administration.

The Culture of Death

A cultural eating drive of the masses, therefore, depends upon an equally cultural subversion of the rejection of the administration. This means a transformation of the attitude of Government. The latter Government is incompatible with the independence. Hence, in my opinion, the spontaneous determination of 1931 January in which hundreds of thousands of villages unanimously participated. To this independence means deliverance from the killing touch.

Not one of the great British printed papers, a woman is not, is prepared to give up the Indian people to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day, often at the cost of the systematic oppression of Indian opinion.

Nevertheless, if India is to live as a Nation, of the new death in starvation of her people is to stop, some results must be found for immediate relief. The proposed Conference is certainly not the remedy. It is, on a matter of cutting taxation by agreement. The matter involves small rate one of matching taxes. Question is on condition, Great Britain would defend her Indian colonies and interests by all the force at her command, India must not acquiesce either. None enough to live herself from the culture of death.

Swindled to Wait any Longer

It is common cause that, however exaggerated, and, for the time being, superficial, it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and modern, well-to-do, and is the man as many that I am convinced that a common, long the desired relief to the death sentence. And the situation is growing deeper and deeper as you live to long has established the violence and death, in the all-outlook of the British Government. More than the other efforts to end the violence. It is my conviction that through an understanding in

shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set on motion that force as well against the increased violent force of the British rule in the unaccountable violent form of the present party of violence. To do all would be to give only to both the lesser evils mentioned. Having an understanding and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence, as I have it, it would be useful on my part to wait any longer.

This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Settlements, but ultimately destined to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its absolute liberation.

My Ambition—Conversion of British people

I know that in undertaking my venture, I shall be running what might easily be termed a mad race. But the nature of such race must have been won without rule, often of the greatest character. Conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously played upon violence, for such conversion, in more general and on less national than local, is worth any amount of risk.

I have deliberately used the word conversion. For my ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and this makes them see the wrong they have done to India. I do not wish to harm your people. I want to save them, and so I want to save my way. I believe that I have always saved them. I saved them up to 1918 hardly. But when my eyes were opened and I discovered non-cooperation, the thing still was to save them. I employed the same weapon that I have in all humility successfully used against the darkest members of my society. If I have saved him for your people with once it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them, even as the members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for twenty years. If the people put me as I expect they will, the challenge they will make, unless the British make some serious change, will be enough to seal the criminal hours.

If You Cannot See Your Way—

The plan through Civil Disobedience will be to conduct such work as I have sampled out. If we wait to give the British conversion it is because of such work. When that we removed the pain becomes easy. Then the way to friendly cooperation will be open. If the British conversion with India is partial of great, you will have no difficulty in recognizing our independence. I successfully leave you then to give the way for immediate removal of those evils, and then open a way for a real co-operation between equals, oriented only in promoting the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and an attractive form of mutual help and economic equally called to him. You have unfortunately had access upon the common problems that nobody's effect has and impossible though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of Government, they have little bearing on the general problems which are always common and which affect them all equally. But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and are willing instead to depend to your heart, on the 11th day or the month, I shall

grinned with such contented calm—telling us I was wise to disregard the promises in the 4-21 line. I replied that he is by the most reliable of all men the great man's standpoint. In the Independence movement is essentially for the people in the land the language will be made with this in mind. The wonder is that we have volunteered in the very company for so long. It is, I hope, open to you to improve my design by advising me. I hope that there will be some of Omaha's youth, in a detached manner, to take up the work after me, and in the act of liberating the East. And to lay themselves open to the possibility of a law that should never have designed the future look.

No Threat but a Sacred Duty

I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment, no way at all, so far as I can help. If you think that there is any substance in my letter, and if you will stop to discuss matters with me, and if in that and you would like me to prepare publication of this letter. I shall gladly submit a sample of a statement in that effect some after this reaches you. You will, however, do not the letter and is asked me how my cause unless you can see your way to submit to the substance of this letter.

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but a simple and sacred duty proceeding on a good nature. Therefore I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in internationalism and whose Providence seems to have sent to me, as it were, for the very purpose.

I remain

Your sincere friend
M. K. Gandhi.

On that Hallowed Spot Tomb of Faith

The month preceding the transportation of the remains of Lord Dunsinane has been full of trial and tribulation for the members of the Indian and day in day out Gandhi has passed out his soul in the morning and evening prayers on that piece of ground which may yet be called by the sacred name of "Rajmangalam". The spot is extremely small for prayer, and is also belted around the great stone in that small area. But that is not, in the spot where the leaders gather together for conferences, having cut off for the removal the remains of the Park and in a spirit of complete indifference to work and organization—Rajmangalam.

But even outside the prayer ground that piece of land and surroundings is there, that strong after praying the looking at the God, the ropes of which we make morning and evening, in that. But nothing had yet happened in the day, the members of that colony. The two, however, came in the shape of the epidemic of small pox which, in spite of the strict care and nursing bestowed on the patients, carried away three promising children of the Ashram. Rumor, say and demonstration of grief went out of the opinion, but that was not enough. All including the parents, were to go through the day's duties as though nothing had happened. And all round the bed well. We were that the treatment necessary was to be brought about, there was no break in the work allotted to the rest, and even the parents of the children did so even. It is

difficult to know what the cause of the epidemic is. I make my death in the past year, and I cannot see an occasion in which will be occasion of respect. Within two days of the death of a boy came the day (perhaps) death of the mother of a girl. It was then through with all the intensity that a small number of people, and finally spoke in the morning partly. I struggle with as much interest as in the last great part of death.

The day that was passed, I think, for Gandhi then for the members of the Ashram. He had to go through a heartbreaking day after, and no reason to go through. They had simply to return from their way to grief. He had to see the death of a child, and he would not permit the parents to see their children vaccinated. Of course every one was free to do so and was offered all facilities. There were patients from friends who enclosed him, so to take the great work he was doing, and to make the matter be associated in a moment on the day night. How can I go back on the principle? I have told you all my life, when I feel that it is these principles that are being put in the way? he said at the prison. "I have no doubt as to what that vaccination is a dirty process, that it is harmful to the soul and that it is a little short of being bad. I may be stupid or naive. But holding the view that I do how can I count them? Because I am child after child passing away? No, not even if the whole of the Ashram were to be swept away, may I count as vaccination and produce my principle? What would my love of truth and my adherence to principle mean, if they were to mean as the slightest touch of reality?"

But God is proving me through a greater test. On the way of what is to be the final test of my strength, God is warning me through the message of death. I have great sympathy and much sympathy with certain in numerous cases. Never has the most great failed me of hope, to have died during the month. But does that mean that I must therefore live back in the treatment and faith in God? Even so my faith in the efficacy of nonviolence may be put to the severest test. I may have to see not three but hundreds and thousands being done to death during the campaign. I am often in trouble that my heart goes before that catastrophe, as well I perceive in my faith? No, I want you every day to understand that this epidemic is not a message, but a test and preparation, a sacrifice and so that our hearts and no doubt we were strong and finally to faith in God. And would not my faith in God be a weakness if these deaths were to shake me? It is so close to me in daylight that life and death are but phases of the same thing, the reverse and obverse of the same coin. In fact confidence and death come in me in general a phase for notes that happens in life. What is the world without love and truthfulness which are the path of life. The history of mankind would have been a blank sheet without those individuals. What is Christianity but a record of the trials, persecutions and persecutions of Jesus and St. Paul. The life of Jesus, when the mystery of love, full of happiness as a man does not, through even a hundredth part of the year. I want you all to become death and suffering men. I say this and to suggest the first cleansing and purifying character.

The First Satyagraha

There was no small difficulty in selecting the first meeting Satyagrahis. Workers from the said town were invited to offer themselves. The women were all invited to be included in the first column. Men and women, there include men as apprentices to be permitted to give the column that he was getting strong. We each drew the women's names in that a list of 150 was to hold them that their time was suitable on that given a number which appeared to them suitable. I must be considered to be the speaker. The aim to go on for nothing, and there may even be, various. It was put the women in front the Government may be, was to reflect on to all the people that they might otherwise offend. A debate arose of identity towards the opponent as what denotes an agent including the women as the first batch. As for the aim to was quite clear that relations should be made safe from those who had gone through the rigid discipline of the Ashram, who used to follow such the discipline as thought, word and deed, and also to follow the other essential principles of the Ashram. There does doubtlessness of identity with a group one might wonder that he had made his decision. The first batch of Satyagrahis must be as pure as life as could be found. The first spiritual effort, was to be of the purest possible character, and each had as well. In France, Western charity had its stuff along some professions but an other virtue can be perfect without charity.

Brotherhood

There were two who were entirely qualified to do respects with Mahatma and Mr. Rajkumar Keshavlal. What was to be done with them? They were no less men than the rest to be included the first Satyagrahis. Not yet he said to them. 'For you there is a greater and far more sacred rule. There as you were a English I expect first you a greater position and that it is through the doors to come suffering you to remain behind and to help as much as you may of the activities of the Ashram as possible. If you are removed for selfishness this because, &c., in the capacity of members of the Ashram, I am well and good. Otherwise I look forward to a day when after all adult members, men and women, of the Ashram, are removed you will be here on the spot of duty protecting the Ashram property as trustees and in charge of all the minor boys and girls who remain behind. That circumstance will be your pride and your duty.'

In this connection it might be noted that Gandhi has previously been. Mahatma Mohan Keshavlal Bhave, a reformer Satyagrahi, and Vice-President of the Lajpata Mithra, who is so much qualified in the said, is very Indian. He has been in jail more times in South Africa, &c., and can handle the language of a lawyer very much. But Gandhi's guide and my world be satisfied if he can represent the sole representative of the Ashram to take care of the minor boys and girls. In the committee he referred to the report, published in the Times of India, of a speech by Mahatma Shastri which was likely to hurt the feelings of all the satyagrahis. For to read that speech that that, even if the report was quite accurate, should not another

any one against the Government. As for himself he had written to Mahatma Shastri in substance of the report already mentioned it, and asked him that in spite of the writer Shastri's in (Gandhi) was still the friend and brother whom he had held in his pocket a short while ago. That gave him the cue to strike on the steel of the Ashram, which was one of a world brotherhood which absorbed humanity in unity to come. Even the greatest light was against a darkness system and was against a particular people. 'We shall live for world brotherhood and not for world brotherhood. We have got devoted ourselves of the family one, we have sacrificed them. The family love which comes in conflict with world brotherhood, is nothing with Englishmen may not understand words but appreciate the spirit that people are today is offer battle to the British Government, but they will realize some day that I had as much their interests as heart as those of my countrymen.'

A Little Incident

In this connection I should like to recall an incident apparently trifling, but really full of much meaning. Mr. Bhave, of the Times of India, came to interview Gandhi the other day. All that they talked about was about spinning in general, and reporting in the Times of India, and Mr. Bhave had covered all the way from Bombay to across Bradford that however much his paper may criticize Gandhi's views on non-violence, he was, and is in correspondence, so far as facts were concerned and that he would content the local correspondents to submit all his reports for approval by some one in the Ashram before transmitting them to Bombay. It was suggested that he said not a word about the political situation. There was a reference about the problems which was quite nothing. 'I am a leader of the Times of India' he said and have to write about things in England. I have been only three years in India and cannot yet write on Indian affairs. I have got moved out of Bombay, and it is difficult to get a detached view of Indian affairs, hence on Friday. As yet, Gandhi said he was very much impressed with the gentleness and goodness of the man.

M. D.

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better than I did. In his latest letter written on his birthday he says: "I cannot tell you how much I have been thinking of you! All these years as there I have realised that thoughts are prayers. The greatest of all struggles has begun, and India is right, as it has always believed, in claiming nothing short of Independence. She cannot be part of an Empire. It is unthinkable!"

The idea behind this letter, evidently as that India with Dominions Status can only be part of an Empire, and a member in an equal footing of a commonwealth of nations. Of course when I asked of Dominions Status, I had no thought of being anything but an equal partner apart therefore from the Colonial tradition, when the experience of 1919 proved that partnership on a footing of absolute equality was out of the question, I became a convinced Independence man.

M. K. G.

Talks before the Truck Wheels don't capture Me

There was no limit to the number of visitors coming to the kitchen recently. The public interest, the majority of which had been higher-65 years ago, was that having the character of a proper ground as records revealed the congregation, not so much to attend the prayer as to hear Gandhi's reply to "plans". I started in a previous article how the "plans" were unfolded, at all in the I circulated a few questions and Gandhi's answers to them.

Q. What sort of Government do you want?

A. I want a Government that would stop and carry out the wishes of the people.

Q. You want a democracy?

A. I am not interested in words, and I never worry myself about the form of government.

Q. But don't you want methods?

A. I do much more very much indeed, but I don't mind the form.

Q. Then you would not mind a monarchy?

A. I said form and machinery do not much matter to me.

Q. Well then, tell me what form your democracy will take?

A. I do not know the method alone interests me, and by method I mean the agency through which the wishes of the people are realised. There are only two methods: one is that of force and force, the other is that of non-violence and truth. Force always includes harm, non-violence always excludes it.

Q. Can't you have force with non-violence?

A. No, impossible. Force itself is a species of violence.

Q. Well, I have been most associated with non-violence. China is regarded by me one of the most peaceful countries in the world, and if I were to tell you about the trouble there, you would be shocked.

A. I repeat, words do not express my impression. As a people, the Chinese are one of the most peaceful in the world, but that peace cannot be real and voluntary if there is force in it. If I had not shed in my heart but do not express it in acts, I am still violent. To use violence or force I mean the force which comes through mass struggle. If I have that peace, that non-violence, I won't have any hate in me. Violence does not necessarily mean bodily harm. What I want to express in every way is that I do not want India

to reach her goal through questionable means. Whether that is possible or not is another question. It is sufficient for my present purpose if the peace which India has the idea and leads. The people is absolutely shocked and has no violence and truth in him. Non-violence works unswerving, unhesitatingly. It was the last reason that I asked for satisfaction entirely from the Working Committee of the Congress to work out my plan of non-violence.

Import of Foreign Goods : C. D.

Q. Don't you think, Gandhiji, boycott of foreign goods would be more potent than non-violence?

A. Years ago I heard that Hindu cry and I explained it by me for the boycott of foreign cloth. I made some impression, but that of boycott of foreign goods made none at all.

Q. My impression is that a Board boycott of foreign goods was tried with success, but it failed to produce much effect.

A. No. It failed me. The call to Board boycott and I finally defeated the nation by making people a rich and when people sell cloth was sold, everything else was changed.

Q. That is what I mean to say. The thing was not tried seriously.

A. If it was not, it means that the people did not want to. So far as I am concerned, I never believed in it and so I could never back it.

Q. But would it not be easier to handle foreign cloth boycott than non-violence?

A. No, it is far more difficult. In one case you want the co-operation of 300 million people. In the other, even if you have an army of ten thousand Indian men and women, your work is done.

Q. Why? They can be all clipped as you and another man will happen themselves?

A. Let them try the experiment. They would have to hang their men before they could remove them from their work. If there were one hundred and five thousand very powerful men, every Government would shudder.

Q. With this, every Government even to prove?

A. For me that they can't keep them there for my benefit of men. The fact is that we never had over 3,000 full-time workers in 1911. Every political prisoner is not necessarily a real worker.

The Risk of Violence

Q. Will not your movement lead to violence?

A. It may, though I am trying my best to prevent any outbreak of violence. Taking them is greater risk of violence, as the chance of any safety relies on the shape of a movement of non-violence like the one I am contemplating.

Q. Yes, I have heard you say that you are leading us the campaign for the very purpose of avoiding violence.

A. It is not argument, but that is not the most conclusive argument. The other and most conclusive argument for me is that if non-violence had to prove its worth, it must prove its worth today. It must come to the power in even slightest circumstances that it has come to be looked upon in certain quarters. And when it is mentioned in the most sinister way, it must not be spoken of in the most laudatorial manner. It is not non-violence by its very nature that

support of the people. Once a person is called in such an office, he should have absolute allegiance. All movements should be looked at the time of battle. The time for retirement was when the approached was made.

The word discipline is, in my opinion, all-embracing and has to be taken where I should have been least before. The discipline of his duties will give the person a meaning to the office. That of course needs time, control and systematic training movements is inevitable. But we ought to avoid the use of a retirement in which discipline is a regular way of place and responsibility of a world bearing, that meaning and having first time.

M. K. G.

Good if True

"Think in Freedom light,
Which shall be our guide
Revolution in the Living Tale,
My comradeship light a light

M. K.

1949/50, Comrade Gandhi,

Discipline of comradeship! We know how to address you. Comrade! Show us, though not a complete master. We read with pleasure on board of the year your remarks on violence and lack of organising power of Revolutionary Societies in your last statement to H. J. the Lord Jesus. We had your O-Commander of the Force on the 15th March on the second day of March to the 11th at Independence by with discipline with all our colours done.

We salute you on, we today (the 15th of March) stand from the field of glory having the destiny of our nation in your hands and leadership we had discipline and best weapons to discipline and organising strength of Revolutionary Societies all over the country for last three years. O Lord of India, if by that time your non-violence fails, we shall be at liberty to declare a Civil War on the 15th March 1951 provided that the movement follows us.

We appeal to the Young Revolutionary. One who believes in violence is the last resort to have a good nation of violence from the rule of Imperialism through the columns of your Young India. We think you will publish it not only for the sake of the success of your movement but also for our country and liberty.

In the name of country to all the Revolutionaries who believe in violence for liberty we appeal to them to support all their activities as to the present situation change in Gandhism, leaving the first of your statement at the hands of a man for last three years (from 15th March 1949 to 15th March 1951) independent India the world may be. For three those years we shall have only to organize and advance the Indian nation, restoring our rights for their regime through all our weapons to discipline and organising strength as to the support of the young Comrade to a Good India to make ready.

On 15th March 1951 I'll be that time non-violence fails; we shall openly declare Civil War of Independence provided that the atmosphere improves us. Before Civil War we have to fight privately as to check our movement to Imperialism. If during these three years any Revolutionary Good comes up through me by law of our moral Revolutionary Good you shall have up yours so that it is the end of an impossible

endeavour. To our (Gandhi) of course and will respect we shall have to show to the other world that we are not blind there, revolutionaries. From glory to suffer India by a united front and Gandhi's Glory shall be yours.

India,
11th March, 1950

We are in your
Comrade.
President of the Executive
Council of I. I. E. Organized
through Secretary Colonel Doh.

[I printed the foregoing just as I have received it. I have not the privilege of knowing 'Colonel Doh'. It is and the letter are not in hand, and if the letter is genuine, I congratulate the revolutionary party on its success. These years have given me a simple. If during these years of action, non-violence under the weapons, promised by the party are not enough to carry conviction, I should regard myself to be an 'unreliable' representative of non-violence. I hope therefore that the revolutionary party will not only support its own conviction but will also proceed to let us, as possible, speak violence from behind you. M. K. G.]

Blessings and Good Wishes

'Amongst the numerous telegrams and letters of good wishes received by Gandhi from various parts of the world, the following may be noted as of special interest. It is no small consolation that fellow pilgrims in all parts of the world are watching the struggle for our emancipation with love and sympathetic interest. A struggle that has begun as comparatively simple but end in victory.

"God speed you"—John, Haynes Holman (New York)

"Indian students strongly support your discipline movement. Violence (Michigan U.S.A.)

"We are not with you in spirit in the present but you are today collecting upon the shores of freedom for our nation and common motherland—India—Although we recognize for ourselves a separate political existence we fully believe that the cultural destiny of our dear Lanka, and India are inextricably interwoven, and that is your efforts for the hope of the future. We earnestly hope that you and the many Indian revolutionaries will find a ready response in the hearts of our home Indians. May you derive abundant power to conduct your campaign, ever abiding in non-violence and love"—Undiscovered (Colombo).

"All-England Indian Youth League, kindly increases its interest with your nationalist struggle. Our main follows. May Heaven help you." (Bombay)

"Students national movement assembled this morning and offered prayers for the success of campaign. Youthfulism"—Secretary (Colombo)

"Maharajah Hordis Dado's participation for establishing work"—Secretary (Lucknow)

"Staff students, Janta nationalist workers with you and Janta nationalist prepared and success is great light before today. Rajar Narayan, Principal (Dahad)

"Our heartfelt congratulations, our deepest loyalty and most fervent prayers. Two leaders shining of ours"—Rajabachariyay, Superintendent.

"On the great march we feel our with you. May God bring victory"—Mottal Ray (Chandragang).

"God bless and prosper you all --Varan
Hansa (Chitab, Bareilly, Poonah).

I will telegraph from personal friends like Shomani
brought Mehta to the Congress from various Congress
Committees. Among the letters from abroad received
by me is one from a German Doctor who sends his
regards post a beautiful discrimination by himself
in the words of the drawing in the Prince of Peace on
the Cross standing out upon a piece and of love which
glorify but surely promote the ascending darkness.
The letter itself is worth its brevity.

"With love, expectation and greatest hope I
am observing the progress of India's fight
for independence.

"Would you be so kind as to present to the
Mahatma the little drawing I have made for him
[which will go out with the same post] and to tell
him that as far of Germany's friends believe physics
is paying for him and his work every morning and
evening." M. D.

On the East of the March

On the eve of the fifteenth month the atmosphere
was tense. Perforated banners were visible of Gandhi's
expanding mind and new direction. The crowd had
swollen to well nigh ten thousand when the evening
programme was held in the Ashram. All the old Gandhi
in these words addressed the vast audience assembled
on the banks of the Sahasrabh.

"It is all probability that will be my last speech to
you. Even if the Government allow me to march
to various countries, this will be my last speech on the
moral basis of the Satyagrah. Probably there may be
the last words of my life here.

"I have already told you yesterday what I had to
say. Today I shall explain myself to what you should
do when I and my companions are arrested. The
programme of the march to Jalapa must be killed as
urgently as possible. The release of volunteers for the
purpose should be confined to Gujarat. From what I
have seen and heard during the last fortnight I am
inclined to believe that the views of our country will
have valueless.

"But let there be not a confidence of hearts of
peace even after all of us have been arrested. We
have resolved to strike all our measures in the pursuit
of an exclusively non-violent struggle. Let us not
content a wrong is right. This is my hope and
prayer. I wish there would of some reached every
soul and corner of the land. My talk shall be done
if I perish and so do my associates. I will then be
for the Working Committee of the Congress to share
you the way and it will be up to you to follow or not.
That is the only meaning of the Working Committee's
resolution. The men of the movement will still re-
main in the hands of those of my associates who
believe in non-violence as an article of faith. Of
course, the Congress will be free to think out what
course of action movements shall be. So long as I
have not reached Jalapa, let nothing be done in
contingency to the authority vested in me by the
Congress. But when I am arrested, the whole
general responsibility shifts to the Congress. No one
who believes in non-violence, as a creed, need
hesitate at all. My contact with the Congress

ends as soon as I am arrested. In that case there
should be no shadow of the movement of volunteers.
Wherever people, and doubtfulness of such law, should
be started. These laws can be applied to those cases.
It is an offence to manufacture and wherever there are
facilities for doing so. The possession and sale of
controlled salt (which includes natural salt as well
as salt) is also an offence. The possession of such
salt will be equally guilty. To every step the
natural salt depends on the measure to liberate a
substance of law. So is the breaking of such salt.
In short, you may choose any one or all of these
decisions to break the salt monopoly.

"We are, however, not to be deterred with this thought.
Wherever there are Congress Committees, wherever
there is an idea by the Congress and wherever the
local workers have self-confidence, other suitable
measures may be adopted. I provide only one
condition, viz., let our judges of men and our leaders
as the only basis for the attainment of freedom be
highly pure. Use the salt, even, and but a few
kinds that does not give a licence to all and
every in case, on our own individual responsibility.
Wherever there are local leaders, their action should
be stopped by the people. Where there are no leaders
and only a handful of men have faith in the programme,
they may do what they can, if they have enough self-
confidence. They have a right, say it is their duty
to do so. The history of the world is full of instances
of men who rose to leadership, by sheer force of
self-confidence, bravery and tenacity. But too, if we
seriously desire to be brave and are impatient to strike
it, should have under self-confidence. Our souls will
swell and we learn to respect the number of our
actions by Government measures.

"Let nobody assume that when I am arrested there
will be no one left to guide them. It is not I but
Prabhu Jivrajval who is your guide. He has the
capacity to lead. Through the fact is that those who
have learnt the lessons of independence and self-discipline
will go further, but if we lack these virtues, and even
Jivrajval will be able to produce them as is.

"Much can be done in other ways besides these
Lepros and foreign cloth shops can be polluted. We
can refuse to pay taxes if we have the requisite strength.
The language can give up position. The public can
boycott the courts by refusing from Magistrates. Govern-
ment servants can resign their posts. In the matter of
the deepest, inspiring all moral people guide with heart of
leading independence. Such men are with the Congress.
But why this danger? The number of Government
servants in the country does not exceed a few hundred
thousand. What about the rest? Where are they to
go? Even these laws will not be able to accommodate
a greater number of public servants. A Congress man
will not need the number of servants he has got today.
He will be his own servant. Here are a few words
like India. effort to provide a Collector with separate
servants for performing the duties of carrying his papers,
cooking, cooking, house cleaning and other work up.
Our savings scheme can by no means afford this
excessive expenditure. If, therefore, we are unable
enough, let us let good bye to Government employ-
ment, so much of it is the post of a judge or a post.
It may be difficult for a judge to leave his job, but

about it the difficulty is the case of a person. He can even be forced everywhere by honest honest ideas. There is the natural solution of the problem of freedom. Let all who are co-operating with the Government or who are working for it by peaceful means, having faith in peaceful children to afford schools etc. will have faith in operations as all is as many ways as possible. One can develop other methods one of non-cooperating with the Government. And then there are persons who can stand steadily in the other work now in the struggle.

"You may take it as my will. It was the only message that I wished to send to you before starting on the march to be the end. I wish there to be no suspension or abandonment of the way that commenced tomorrow morning, in order if I am needed, before that time, I shall surely reach the area that has been set up as early as time as my health is restored. I believe there are those in India, to complete the work begun by me today. I have faith in the righteousness of our cause and the power of our weapons. And when the moment we think that it is indispensably proved with His blessing. And when there have reached, there delay is no responsibility. A Congress, whether free or constrained, is our weapon. He is unopposed only when he has been both and otherwise and there is that one in the future. Yes, O, therefore, there is such a thing as defeat for even a Hindu, who, he alone in the case of a God bless you all and keep all all obstacles from the path in the struggle that begins tomorrow. Let this be my prayer."

A Few Hours with Gandhi

It was at Varanasi that I had a chance of meeting Gandhi, two days after the commencement of the 'March'. It was an effort in the evening and thousands were thronging the vast space outside the premises of the famous temple of Sankar for the evening meeting. It was impossible to gain admittance unless one was recognised by someone known to a local leader related to Gandhi himself and he has to see people long when we succeeded in getting in, the large number of men and women—hundreds have met at this—surrounding Gandhi in the area where he was seated till we wondered whether Karamchand and I would be looked upon as welcome witnesses. A few more people and the crowd would have been full to overflowing. The hour of six was coming but we hesitated and we had no choice.

We had just arrived after a tiring journey through the heat and dust of Karamchand, and he was being gently massaged as he sat, having his hand resting on his forehead and the people were around him. It was a great pity that he could not have a private hall-room for a quiet meal, but for such I knew many of them were there on business and there was absolutely no other time that he could give them.

So we waited whilst he was eating. He had been already approached regarding the change at the venue of the Congress Committee, and as we also had information in that connection we waited in silence but close on the matter. He was positive that the venue and date should remain unchanged, no matter what happened, as he had made up his mind not to attend the Committee

meeting, even if he were not and still a leading decision. There was no real objection to his mind having been finally made up. He declined a telegram to the Congress President concerning his decision. Before I could make up all other matters which I had carefully noted on a sheet of paper, there were people before the place to wish to visit and someone to discuss the programme they "Wish," he said to them. "I am that you have misinterpreted the distance between places and although I had no intention of covering more than the miles in Indian miles of the night, we have time during those days. I think I had better have a day of rest every week and for that there could not be a better day than Monday." Then as three of the members of the party had left the efforts of lamps and had to use a lantern, and Gandhi, who had suddenly refused to take the lamp that followed him as done as a lantern, but that the Monday was a good preliminary measure. "God willing I hope to do the whole march on foot," he said. "My feeling is like that of the pilgrim in Kashmir in Kashmir who wishes to ride under a pig he carried as a Jandy but it should depart from the spirit of the pilgrimage. For me this is nothing less than a holy pilgrimage."

The programme had to be altered accordingly and instructions were dispatched immediately to all the people concerned.

He had now time to talk to us. Karamchand's son had just come away from Poona, having given up his studies and a promising college career. He had made serious preparations for scholarships and just as he was about to appear for his examination for country's all had come. And he had been severely disappointed by the old Father Gandhi's delight over the event was greater than over Karamchand's. The answer he looked at Karamchand he said, "The Student has come to the entrance. To the boy himself he had said—"No wonder we should be happy when there are earnest folk like you ready to sacrifice the fruit of a year's hard labour."

This time, we pretended to "interest" the young student, saying from the little children in the Indian suffering from the after-effects of malnutrition to the representatives of education in different provinces. He went into the student's detail about every little thing, always explaining at length his position, by a suggested course of action. Karamchand and I had then been with him. He asked us how when it was suggested that it was then for the evening prayer. All this while men and women were coming in and going out, without stopping in the last Gandhian peace or presence of mind. Among the visitors who came to pay their respects there were, as Gandhi informed him later, a retired Sessions Judge and other Government servants. Probably the satisfaction done at some of them or the foreign cloth of which it was made may have called him a little, but he had no time to attend them.

A few people there was a gathering of about five hundred people, the whole gathering being carefully kept out. Immediately after the prayer he got the attention that the people were getting impatient and that he must get ready for the meeting. The one of that large mass of humanity made speech from a balcony that impossible that Gandhi came to their rescue. He said "I shall address them from the

history and I know I shall be loved by all. I witnessed a huge gathering in 1921 from one of the towers of the Juma Masjid in Bombay, and I have no doubt here too the plan will succeed in nothing else than. They spend and the plan concerned beyond every man's expectations. There was almost complete silence, every one listening with most attention. 'I am not an English or European so to think that you have come here in your thousands just for the sake of me or my country,' he began. 'You have come here because you desire freedom, complete independence, and because the idea of a non-violent kind of independence going on for the purpose has appealed to you and you would like it with all the power at your command. The death of leaders on the conventions of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, which, in fact, was in the nature of a personal address by the people of India, and they could not answer it better than by complete non-co-operation with Government. He stated no money, but he wanted men to go to the front, and he wanted action in the shape of Government servants resigning their posts, students giving up their schools and pupils giving up foreign cloth.'

At 3 P. M. he returned on the upper terrace, still talking to people and giving addresses until he fell asleep. Long before his companions were up he awoke and began to discuss at length the correspondence—some of which he still looked at it as urgent and important. It seems the little lamp went out for want of oil, and Gandhi's method of making up the burnt tube was stopping by his side began to write his letter on the manuscript. When I was late at 4 A. M. he was busy writing up a letter from Sir David Houston, who is spite of differences of opinion, has a generous regard for Gandhi's conviction and love of truth, and has obviously not given him up. He is organizing a committee class as he lay outside on the verandah, and wondered if Gandhi would scribble about a hundred cards on which put his words would be posted. 'Be honest.' The cards were to be presented to the students starting on their respective tours, and Sir David thought, that as one was in a better position to give the students that much to be called honest. I do not know what Gandhi wrote in reply, but I imagine of him it is as if Sir David would by special authority have the cards signed by him. 'How can you manage to write on the manuscript?' I asked. 'One can write well enough,' he said, 'though not neat (but look! Don't you read my signature?)'

Soon there was the call to morning prayers and we descended to the lower terrace. After the prayer he delivered a little sermon to the pilgrims on the march, as usual to be his most every morning. That at any rate is the only time when he is free to talk to his brother pilgrims who are invited to ask questions, if they have any. It may be mentioned in passing that in spite of the weary march Gandhi has defined on the Ashram custom being followed by every one of the pilgrims, especially on the three essentials, *na, pravara, upasana* and writing up the daily diary. It is my remark to attend the prayers, somewhat on the hours of march depend on the day advancement of the hours of prayer, but the other two items are also pillars of observance. One often feels that one and half off to sleep

before writing up the diary in some places it is difficult to get the sleeping wheel, or, at any rate, a sufficient number of sleeping wheels, and he is slow to give it as difficult to do the work of 212 miles on the table in anything less than three hours. But Gandhi would listen to no such excuse. 'There is a moral philosophy,' he said 'and we should be able to master for every minute of our time. Let those who cannot think their words or do not find time to write or to write up their diaries see me. I shall discuss the thing with them. There must be something wrong about their thoughts and I should help them to rectify it. We should be successful enough to do all our daily duties without the march coming in our way. I dare say we are not busy enough for a constant talk, and I am sharing praying for a weekly day of rest. For I should like to be as prepared for the celebration of the wonder day of the Ashram. I repeat that our life is a moral philosophy, and self-realization and self-perfection are essential, which we cannot do without. The diary is a great help in this matter. This regular speaking, reading the public open and day, the day diary will these things were thought out by me on the verandah last, and for a short sentence it is to lay the foundation of the edifice of future, research as ours will be the first month of silence, it should be as vocalized as possible. Those who follow on any journey with the rapid discipline are we going through, but for us there is no escape. That regular self-discipline will give us a new force which will enable us to obtain what we have won. It is the natural result of more non-violence and violent mind as a good effect after fasting. It is nearly thirty that when we are imprisoned, we shall all be kept together. Therefore if our life is, well organized from now, we should not have the slightest difficulty in going together, through our daily work.'

A letter signed by the secretary of 'them' to take a place which has been in connection with Chairman, or one of Gandhi's characteristics that seems to be even more in evidence in these days of march than it was on the comparatively quiet days at the Ashram. But it is perhaps unnecessary to talk of a single day in a life which throughout has been 'revival to the new.' One of the wonders in the problems that he drafted for a meeting held in Ahmedabad on celebration of the Sardar's death was: 'We will have no power, nor shall the Government dare, say, until we have won Swamy.'

H D

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The A. I. C. C.

The A. I. C. C. met on the banks of the Sabarmati, but the peeping gnomes of the place, for whose sake the name was fixed, was not there. Yet, though absent, his spirit seemed to pervade the place and every one's thoughts were of him and his gallant band of Satyagrahi students marching along the dusty roads of Gujarat, through seas of hostility, in the spirit of a place where India's first striving to grapple with the great British Empire. Two other members of the Working Committee could also not be present, being kept busy by the alien power. Vallabhbhai, the Victor of Bardoli and the leader of Gujarat province, which is destined to take the lead in this fight for our independence, lay a mile away behind the high walls of Indraprastha prison. One Chagla had been named of authority among the high way to distant Dargapur and was being tried there for having spoken against the British Government.

The Committee met under a heavy mass of recessed light. The light had begun to waver and the hour for empty talk was past. Day day might bring news that their leader had been released. Indeed no member of the Committee knew what his own fate might be within the next few days. The situation was good, although many members had accused themselves from apathy as to the plan that they were busy work program done for civil disobedience in their own areas. There was question of ending in the Committee. The result was a famous conference.

The principal resolution that was passed confirmed the Working Committee's resolution authorizing Gandhi to begin civil disobedience. This resolution also laid down the conditions under which the various provinces should start Satyagraha. The Congress today does not propose to undergo in Satyagraha as a protest. It also is civil disobedience as a mass action in which hundreds of thousands will take part. The call here from therefore have shown as they affect every one, and almost every province the Congress in the campaign against them.

The resolution gave a great deal of liberty to Provincial Congress Committees as regards to the manner and place of civil disobedience. It is open to them to prepare their program for any form of Satyagraha best suited to them, but it should be realized that different forms of Satyagraha in different provinces may tend to weaken the general movement. It is therefore necessary, and the A. I. C. C. has laid stress on it, that the Salt Act Satyagraha should be first undertaken in every province where it is possible. Other forms of Satyagraha may be prepared by but they should be reserved for the initial stage of the campaign.

In case Gandhi is arrested, P. C. C. are urged to strike, or at any date they may determine, start civil disobedience. In case he is not arrested they should wait for him to reach the coast and start Satyagraha. He will then give his signal and the P. C. C. will be informed immediately through the A. I. C. C. office. This means that P. C. C. must keep ready from now onwards, as it is possible that some of his arrest may come at any moment. In the ordinary course he is likely to reach his destination on April 28, the eve of the National Week. It will be fitting that this week should see civil disobedience in a large number of places all over India.

The A. I. C. C. has confirmed the resolution of the Working Committee of February 1936. It will be

remembered that in the P. C. C. in April 1936, all who either help the Government or commit themselves from it to join the Congress at some time or other after it comes over them. The day is not yet when such a development might take place and will not, perhaps, Chagla, Chagla et al. will soon have to decide if they will follow in their footsteps or not. And moreover it is obvious that no one can go there deliberately breaking laws and get content for themselves in a few days as his experienced leader. The United Satyagrahi has set a good example of all educational institutions, colleges and otherwise. It has indicated all the resources for helping the civil disobedience campaign.

All universities and universities are urged to take part in civil disobedience or to help the campaign in any way that makes their way as to the steps and now, we shall have to make the steps. Let these decisions get ready and long ready.

March 26-27-38

Jawaharlal Nehru

The Satyagraha Pledge

Various forms of pledges for volunteers observe themselves for civil disobedience are being used in the country and thousands have already signed these pledges. It was felt however by the Working Committee that it would be desirable to have a uniform pledge for all such volunteers. Members of the Committee considered the various pledges and later some of them had the advantage of consulting Gandhi on the subject. With his approval the following pledge was drawn up.

1. I desire to join the civil disobedience campaign for the independence of India undertaken by the National Congress.

2. I accept the creed of the National Congress, that is, "the attainment of Poorna Swarajya (Complete Independence) by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means."

3. I am ready and willing to go to jail and undergo all other sufferings and penalties that may be inflicted on me in this campaign.

4. In case I am sent to jail I shall not seek any monetary help for my family from the Congress funds.

5. I shall implicitly obey the orders of those who are in charge of the campaign.

This pledge is simple and shorter than many already in use. It will be noticed that it does not refer specifically to Gandhi or non-violent unity, which are usually mentioned in such pledges. This of course does not mean that the Congress is going to lay less stress on these things of our programme. The Congress will continue to lay the greatest stress on these and it is hoped that volunteers will remember that fact. It was felt however that if we are to have a mass campaign of civil disobedience in which hundreds of thousands take part our pledge must be a simple one, clearly laying stress on civil disobedience.

The signing of this pledge by any one does not automatically make him or her acceptable as a Satyagrahi. The signed pledge is merely an application which may or may not be accepted by the Committee concerned.

Those who have already signed pledges which are better than the one suggested above, need not write again.

March 26-27-38

Jawaharlal Nehru

Modern English Mythology

A truly amazing publication has before you as I write. It is the *London Times* of Feb. 17th 1939. What is more than that? It is the Special Indian section on which the *Times'* staff has been working for over a year so you may be sure that it is a solid good stuff.

London has, First World produced such a gallery of heroism all in one area. But only one. The *Knighthood of the Victor* gave a few honours, but the smaller orders which have been the past of such well known Indians as Sir Harcourt Butler, the Marquis of Eglinton, Sir Vincent Clark, Sir William Moore, Sir John Wilson, Sir Walter Lawrence and Lord Inchiquin, as well as quite a host of army officers.

The *Times* has indeed produced a complete story of Indian life. As Lord Duns says, it has "given the foreign people a picture of India". How you may learn all about the business side of the East India Company and the new Government of India today. How you will find the reason why the British Government had to be composed of *God's Chosenmen*. How you may read about the splendid police service of India, how unimpeachable is the system of justice, and how corrupt and cruel every *'Native'* organisation. There are persons, too, of the Game Hunting, the Veterinary Service, India's *'Minister'* state dispatch, the New India House (London), the Calcutta Clubhouse, Sir William Balfour, the *Victor* and another Lord (which covers) the *Game Commission*, a P. and O. Line and other things that concern the Indian present.

But what interested me most was that part which dealt with *Indian trade and finance*.

"*Times of Laputa over Imports*" "Trading House Indenture" — "These were the headlines that especially caught my eye."

According to the writer it is fact is that most trade that British came to India, India has apparently been growing richer and richer at the expense of England.

"We know of no *cash*," said the *Times* correspondent, "when the balance of trade was set in India's favour against Laputa."

Now this is a very interesting statement which we shall do well to examine. In the last place we know that the *East India Company* has a monopoly of Anglo-Indian trade till the year 1935. Into the trading system of the *East India Company* was scarcely phrased. They taxed their subjects, and when destroying the movement of administration, retained the balance in England partly in cash and partly in goods which were bought with Indian money on the Indian market for sale, or other parts of the world. This was known as the *Company's Dividend*.

Henry Venn, Governor of Bengal, estimated that in the three years 1907-9 the *Company's* exports reached 4,021,120 while its imports reached the figure of 23,711,232. And he was by no means deceived by the 'verminously trade balance' to a letter, dated September 1908, quoted by Kenneth Dow in his *Encyclopaedia, Venn's* words:

"Each of the *European Companies*, by means of money taken up in the country, have greatly enlarged their material possessions, without adding a penny to the riches of the province."

The 1813 the *Company* retained this policy of buying goods in India at the expense of the Indian tax payer and selling them elsewhere country for the profit of the English

shareholder. In that year their shares had increased in value of 100 per cent and continued themselves with the quality of administration. The 'Inevitable trade balance', however, and continued, and that for an obvious reason. Not only had the *Company's* 'profits' and its net out of the revenues, but only were salaries and other expenses largely disbursed in England, but the *Company* had further borrowed money in the form of over 25 million sterling, chiefly for the war purposes, i.e., totally unproductive expenditure. The story of these enormous debts and how India became saddled with them has been recently told by me and written in the Indian press. I am concerned, however, rather with their effects than with their origin.

From now on the Indian *Times* Editor had to cope with an ever increasing drain on both debt and cost of administration was steadily. To put now in the terms of exports which is required to meet this varied tribute and spend of it the equivalent of prosperity, is what an extremely unkindness form of financial administration that is called for an after name. In point of fact, most of the excess of exports represent so much that has in the Indian present. India through this India has paid from one of the richest countries in the world to the poorest and out of her poverty she still pays a tribute of precious stones, that each man from England may draw his salaries from her exchequer.

I have been turning over the pages of the *Times* again. On every page, one finds the same kind of stuff written by barons and business men with an air of prophetic destiny. The two Governments are on one side, what words, say, that thousands of people in England will have read close and believed them.

Under such circumstances, when hope is fast of picture descending this manner from England! I speak with experience when I say that the Englishman's lot is less so far as India is concerned right from the time when he first spent a school history text-book. The *Times* are as a solid platform against India. Mr Lloyd George is strong almost daily in the press about the responsibility of Indian self-government. The Labour Party talk on blood money and have as far believed like the *Times*.

One may only be, upon to India, and Gandhi has already taken the next step. He knows better than any one the history of living that England will soon be well to be in the wrong. I speak with shame that moral and the hypocrisy have become a sort of political moral course with us. The enormous loss of India's resources would be for her representatives to 'give evidence' regarding their own affairs before an independent tribunal. And Lord Duns has, especially made it clear that that is the meaning of the so-called 'Round Table Conference'.

England is making secret in India, that is conspiracy and happy business. The night of British India, when 'nightfall' is continued in a handful of lawyers and scientists. The *Lords* and *Clarendon* and *Indians* are taking them every day how greatly the Indian present support in the blessings of the British King. Not tell the nation what is its common enemy there and there countrymen of some industrial. For time when and when I say that that direction may come in the will of *England*, for some it push by one of two ways, and the other will delay two nations in blood.

R. A. Barnaby

Young India

Duty of Delinquency

[By M. N. Chatterjee]

There is no half way house between when loyalty and a delinquency. There is much truth in the late Justice Bingham's remark that a man to prove himself not guilty of delinquency must prove himself to be actively delinquent. In these days of democracy there is no such thing as active loyalty to a person. You are freedom loyal or delinquent to institution. When freedom men are delinquent you must not in delinquent person but institutions. The present State is an institution which, if you know it, can never evolve loyalty. It is corrupt. Many of its laws governing the conduct of persons are positively delinquent. Their administration is corrupt. When the will of one person is the law it may safely be said that there are as many rulers as there are districts in this country. These, called Collectors, represent a few very persons the masses as well as the isolated peasants. Though their role was supposed to be governed by laws as themselves highly defective, these rulers are often corruptive and regulated by nothing but their own whims and fancies. They represent not the interests of the people but those of their foreign masters or principles. These (early time limited) can form an almost instant comparison, the most powerful in the world. They are required to find a head witness of justice, they have themselves often been found to be most corruptive in their dealings with the people. This system of government is undoubtedly based upon a systematic exploitation of considerable millions of the inhabitants of India. From the village headman to their personal servants these villages have created a class of exploiters who, while they cling before their foreign masters, in their corrupt dealings with the people act as unconsciously and go handily as to discriminate them and by a system of processes render their miserable of making corruption. It is clear that day of those who have reduced the moral and of the system of Indian Government to be delinquent is it and actively and openly to punish delinquency. Indeed, loyalty is a term to corrupt is a no, delinquency is a virtue.

The spectacle of three hundred million people being covered down by living in the shadow of three hundred men is something else for the day as for the system. It is the duty of those who have reduced the evil nature of the system however effective some of its institutions may, not from their content, appear to be, to destroy it without delay. It is their clear duty to run any risk to achieve this end.

But it must be equally clear that it would be equally for three hundred million people to risk in destroy the three hundred million or administration of the system. It is a sign of great ignorance in these times of destruction from administration or this delinquency. Moreover they are not creation of new system. The present man entering the system will be affected by it and will be instrumental in propagating its evil. The newly delinquent activity is not being

created again and administration, and therefore looking them, but to administrate with the system by withdrawing all the voluntary assistance possible and infusing all the essential benefits. A little reflection will show that civil disobedience is a necessary part of non-cooperation. The act of administration must effectively be stopped in order and chaos. As civil disobedience never destroys such a system. Adherence to a system pending of the end. A good man will therefore resist an act system of administration with his whole soul. Disobedience of the laws of an evil State is therefore a duty. Violent disobedience deals with men who can be replaced. It leaves the evil head unshaken and often appreciates it. Non-violent, i. e., civil disobedience is the only and the most successful remedy and is voluntary upon law who would discontinue himself from evil.

There is danger in civil disobedience only because it is still only a partially tried remedy and has always to be tried in an atmosphere unchanged with violence. For when tyranny is supported more than is permitted under the system it remains intact because of their violence and hence a civil is very in the slightest point. Civil disobedience is a courage method of increasing the unexploited life-destroying force energy into disciplined life-saving energy where one means absolute success. The strategy risk is nothing compared to the result obtained. When the night has become familiar with its use and when it has had a series of successes of its successful strategy, there will be less risk in civil disobedience than there is in violence, as spite of that success having reached a high stage of development.

Volunteers' Pledge

The A. I. C. C. has framed a brief pledge for volunteers. It had necessarily to be the simplest possible. We may not expect thousands of thousands to sign individual pledges. Beyond therefore among the Congress itself, which includes into millions and trials as I complete the expression 'personal and legitimate, and beyond the understanding to-day action, the pledge system nothing more. Later on when the whole mass of people men, there will be no pledge. There will then be many other various forms if there will also be some but it need not. Let it be also understood that the pledge is an application it does not make the applicant to be admitted for the next signing of the form. Let it be remembered too that for all amongst them who in no case suspended. The present form is devised for the emergency. The responsibility of recruiting officers is indeed great. We have in no way mean that we have now and gradually to convert work, discipline, or removal of the evil of untouchability and drink and drugs. It means that these things are an integral part of the Congress. Only in dealing with the Congress field thousands of men and women for the fight for India; we cannot to their a simple formula in the various belief that those who are controlling the Congress will not, in any shape or form, under them the integral part of the Congress programme. The present plan is based upon highest trust in the Congress representatives being run with absolute honesty. Lastly it should not be forgotten that these volunteers do not become Congress men.

M. N. C.

Some Suggestions

(Dr H. K. Green)

The resolution passed by the A. I. C. C. at its Birmingham opening leaves the leaders at the mercy of the agents for stopping civil disobedience all over the country, assuming that I am kept from left I reach Dunc. The reason is obvious. The A. I. C. C. wishes to take every reasonable precaution against setbacks. In the event of my arrest, it would be dangerous to stop the movement. Before my arrest, the A. I. C. C. will not interfere with me. So far as I can judge now, the workers may assume that the date for striking is all India must will be the 1st of April. It is the day of commencement of the national week. It is the day of Independence that in 1931 witnessed a more successful strike than before. The seven days that followed witnessed some dark days, we are just not concerned in the subsequent Johannesburg meeting. If all goes well I should reach Dunc. on April 15th. I feel with freedom appears to me to be the most critical day for commencing Satyagraha. But the workers while they may make preparations, must await the final word.

The release of the workers however does not mean that every province or every district is bound at once to commence civil disobedience although it may not be ready and although the first success does not lead to the next step. He will refuse to be further entangled of his loss of confidence in himself or in his comrades surroundings. No one will be blamed for this, but there will most definitely depend upon the liberality of him who failed of controlling the surrounding as carried away by them.

What we all are that is mass civil disobedience. It cannot be made. It must be spontaneous, it is to be done by the mass and it is to be done by the masses. And there certainly will be no mass response where the ground has not been previously tilled, nurtured and enriched. The greatest precaution has to be taken everywhere against an outbreak of violence. While it is true, as I have said, that civil resistance that has well prepared even though violence may break out, it is equally true that violence on one part will bring the struggle and retard its progress. Two opposite forces are at work unconsciously as it is to help each other. The plan of civil disobedience has been conceived to maintain and ultimately extend to replace violence and achieve non-violence in the end, to replace hatred by love, to replace evil by good.

The meaning then of not extending the date or mode of any outbreak of violence simply is that leaders of non-violence will often themselves, will even seek, to be captured in the flames of war should rise. They will not care to enable helpful, harmless, calm of the oppressed violence of the Government or of the official violence of an organized group or nation. The workers will therefore take, in such process, all precautions humanly possible and then plunge into the fight even though as so doing they run the greatest risk imaginable. It follows that everywhere there will be willing volunteers to the payment of those who may be in their own process known for their belief in

non-violence to the point of offering the purpose of striking Police Stations.

There has been talk of discontinuing leave. The proposal has not entered my mind. As long as we are situated upon the "no touch" rule, we are to be treated almost as slaves. The idea of me to manufacture salt in small quantities but through manufacture and otherwise is against a deliberate and open breach of salt laws.

The Committee has last time been suggested for possible disobedience. This has done not in my opinion comply with the conditions that the salt law fulfil. The idea is to develop such laws as are laid for all time as far as we can be seen today. We do not wish the salt law even under Swamy. Disobedience is perhaps not such a law. We may need disciplinary measures under Swamy. If such is the case, it may be well not to touch that but to keep as we have other laws of other laws to combat.

There have been the latest news. I have not studied them. I must therefore write with reserve. There can be no doubt that we do not want any force to be destroyed altogether or even to be not necessary. But there is a need, I have little doubt, for meeting these laws. There is a great need perhaps for human explanations of these laws. The release may well need the establishment of Swamy. But as far as I am aware has there been any popular education about the government making out of these laws or their administration.

Clearly about is the latest one giving news. I do not know that regulations are wrong. They are not as there are to be a just guarantee.

Weakness from my standpoint is the policy of liquor shops, opium dens and foreign club shops. Though policy is not by itself illegal, such experience shows that the Government will want to impose all effective policy. That does not mean either. The one side is that a substance we can, consciously with our mind. But I fear the non-violence behaviour of liquor dealers and the general work of foreign club dealers. I should like public opinion to consider itself more fully armed than two evils and would like workers to undertake more systematic attempts of the dealers as also of their customers. We have to educate both the evils come day or other. Whereas, therefore, systems have confidence in their ability to carry on business without taking under rules of the type I have mentioned, they should visit the campaign, but to go on business they must be doing something when the word is given for action and because they do not see their way to take up the salt laws. It seems to me to be the right time to take up the latter for the time being what I have said above is merely by way of caution. Whatever workers feel that they have the most heart off for action and are themselves free from violence, they are at liberty as long as the word is given, to take up such civil disobedience as they consider necessary and desirable, subject of course to the A. I. C. C. action.

Shareable between now and the 1st of April, the previous should have no time to making their preparation for disobedience.

Twelfth of March

There are some who think as those who will not see, and whilst a "nationalist" newspaper is carrying banners and making its pages full of the reports and tales about the triumphant character of Gandhi's act, are waiting and afraid, the victory and liberality have developed the confidence of the British press and the Government of Bombay, the U. P. and the Punjab have thought it fit to declare an unconditional peace from their "Majlisat". Gandhi's March for Freedom on the 11th of March 1931. It will be remembered that the Bombay Board of Film censors had refused them an unconditional, but the Government of Bombay, the U. P. and the Punjab had already reasons which were beyond the law of the Board of Censors. If there then were no such religious stuff, our wonder, why, the actual march, which must be a limited one, were religious, should be allowed to continue from day to day. But it is no use trying to detect the strategy of Government. It may be foolish, it may be deceptive, it may be anything, the only strategy of the Indians is a truthful and unconditional action to break defile. It may however be necessary to tell everyone concerned that India's battle for freedom does not depend on the hand of externalities. The struggle which was unexpectedly begun on the 16 of April 1930, and which "arrested and perplexed" Lord Reading and Lloyd did not depend on externalities and had not to be interrupted for war of externalities.

And then there were no externalities. Then, in the days when Russia wanted no India, and in the days of the remarkable war between the President and the Congress. And yet there is not an Indian but knows the story of the Congress and the Britishers, and there are thousands today whose memory went back to the 11th of March in Russia march from Agony, and to where India's fight for freedom with the British Government is merely a repetition of the fight of the President, the forces of internationalism, with the Russians, the forces of imperialism.

Again there were no externalities on the day when the Lord Dufferin arrived out from his princely station, leaving his district and Ireland, "visited our territory like a man who is told that his house is on fire" had got to swallow upon millions of feet and women the story of the Great Revolution in as much as if it had taken place only yesterday.

And to come to modern times, there were no externalities on the 16 of July 1930 nor on the 19th of July 1930, and yet in those in America when the memory of the 14th of July does not fade with patriotic emotions, and is from a President whose trust does not waver with pride in spite of the date on which a people has from the thousands of ages, claimed the British.

To come to recent times, the 11th of April lived in every Indian's memory when General Dyer having allowed our cinema company to take a photograph like all his bloody exploit.

For different from any of the historical events are here noted, and brought with consequences of much greater and more shining import for the whole world is the struggle that was fought with the British back of the 11th of March— if it was a British adventure, mine would be as foolish as to give a comment of

brought to it, if it was a great country, the credit to it. The British then should be characterized as Indian. But in not of anything, if it was an event of great importance both for India and the world, as it undoubtedly was, it was because of its inherent conflict, and because a few narrow concepts regarded it as a profitable movement. Considering its no doubt rich, selfish or egoistic, the fight began on the 11th of March as a fight to a death, and the 11th of March will live in history as much more sacred and memorable than any other great date before, because it is that day began a march for freedom interrupted by two who will more readily sacrifice himself and his land in the cause of truth and non-violence than slowly or reluctantly participate in the shedding of a single drop of blood.

M. D.

Notes

Scarcity of Khaddar

There is naturally scarcity of men on Khaddar and Indians are being recruited at the I. I. I. I. office that there is going to be shortage of Khaddar in the near future. This, as it should be. The remedy is for full Khaddarization to run down their requirements, for instance, to buy only what they need and for all to help in maintaining their Khaddar. Just as there must be scarcity of food if there is an external supply of wheat, so must there be an scarcity of Khaddar if there is an external supply of cotton. There is no danger of the supply of the cotton running out. The supply comes to the people peacefully believing that Khaddar cannot be produced in our villages and towns as food is produced in every house. People need not take up the spinning wheel if they will take up the truth and begin spinning at once. They have then to go to the ordinary market and come back to wear their yarn. If there is a proper functioning of national organizations, the market will not lack abundance of khaddar yarn as much as they foolishly do today. For such organization of Khaddar on a large scale, there must be a real pressure for it coming from the people. Every one will not take part in civil disobedience, but every one can take part in the production of Khaddar. Let the leader know that the leaders in the civil disobedience campaign all over the country are in the most majority of cases, derived from national organizations. Their withdrawal from Khaddar organizations will tend seriously to tell upon the output of Khaddar unless people take to self-organization and self-help generally.

Mahatma not Manager

I observe that papers, particularly *Equal* that Mahatma Gandhi is managing the Ashram as a hotel in my place. This is untrue. The Ashram has been put for a long time under the control of a managing board of which Mahadevi Datta is the Chairman, Hans Sahasra the Vice-Chairman and Mahadevi Datta the Secretary. Mahadevi Datta head of the auxiliary department as other women took up other departments in order to share the work among us in the ashram. She is also taking her due share in making the wheel clean and rendering such other services as may be required. What she will ultimately be, no one can tell, she has been of all Sufferers to be the guide to know that she has chosen to, has led with the Ashram and not for all time to come. Her duties

Resolutions of the A. I. C. C.

1 Satyagraha

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. approves of and endorses the resolution of the Working Committee following Mahatma Gandhi in which and against civil disobedience and non-cooperation has and has co-operation and the country on the north, says, by him on the 12th instant in protest of his plan for civil disobedience. The Committee, hopes that the whole country will respond to the action taken by Gandhi as so to bring the campaign for Poona Satyagrah to a speedy and successful close.

The A. I. C. C. hereby authorizes the P. C. C., subject to any direction that the Working Committee might issue from time to time, to continue and undertake such civil disobedience as, in their own view proper and in the manner that may appear to them to be most suitable. The Committee however hopes that the provinces, so far as is possible, will co-operate in every branch of the satyagrah. The Committee trusts that while full preparation will be carried on in spite of any Government interference, and disobedience will not be started till Gandhi has reached by, demanding and has actually committed a breach of the salt laws and given the word. In the event however of Gandhi's refusal to start the protest shall have full liberty to start civil disobedience.

The A. I. C. C. congratulates Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. J. M. S. Gopal on their action and notes with satisfaction that their arrests instead of weakening have strengthened the national resolve to reach the goal without any delay.

The Committee records its appreciation of the example set by the village officials of Gujarat who have resigned from Government service in order to help in the national campaign.

2. Vaccines in the Working Committee

In view of possible vaccines in the Congress Working Committee among out of Government action and in the event of normal procedure being rendered obsolete, it is resolved that the following procedure be adopted:

(i) The President may nominate his committee and the President for the time being shall have power to fill up all vacancies in the Working Committee by his own nomination.

(ii) The working Committee shall have the power to nominate his own members in case of the vacating secretary.

3 American Branch of the Indian National Congress

In view of the fact that the American Branch of the Indian National Congress has consistently refused to supply information about its members of functions, membership etc. in spite of repeated requests and because it appears to this Committee no reliable authority that the authorities of the Branch carry on public propaganda against the declared policy of the Congress and directly contrary to the Congress creed and methods this Committee disaffiliates the American Branch.

That Memorable Trek



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find. Their battle was won by none by living the selfish ideal. How did I happen to get out on this march for living above the crowd? We expect themselves as volunteers to respond to the call. It will be expected of us to keep them on a voluntary basis. My life has become so busy that I get little time to come on other work even with the night companions so as to be able to liberally share individually. There was therefore no chance open to me but to subsume my goal to public. I expect you to understand the crowded years of my marriage. If you have not, there is no hope of "knowing" through the personal effort. We must become old teachers of the dumb millions.

"I have expected you volunteers to the self's goal. I have not yet given you all the details, but I tell you enough to enable you to make all arrangements to write the letter to the Women.

"Now the final movement will subsume my agency. Much was expected in imagination, now feeling, why will you forget to feel deeper? We may not introduce these volunteers because of our village. It is enough that our leaders showed me pay upon those hundred millions. But how will a pay when we begin to pay upon our leaders? Is that event deep and full and complete?

Account for Every Paise

"These leaders receive a sample of the extravagance I have to meet. My paper is to write, you up front, report. Let the volunteers account for every paise spent. I am more capable of offering subordinates against our efforts than against the Government. I have taken many pains before subsuming upon itself resistance against the Government. But I should not take so many days for offering it against ourselves. The risk to be covered is nothing compared to what has to be covered in the present day's work.

"Therefore in your hospitality towards servants like us, I would have you to be more rather than less. I shall not give place of considerable absence of them. In order to please your calls for me you may not dignify your women of milk for these children. I would be like you if you did. But our milk and substitutes for brought from home. We are so without them if necessary. Do not resort to money that on the slightest pretext. The rule is, the real rule, if you can walk. This is not a battle to be conducted with money. It will be impossible to make a real movement with money. Any way it is beyond us to conduct the campaign with a lavish display of money.

"Extravagance has no room in this campaign. It is almost better to have values we have in a business enterprise propaganda. I would be satisfied to achieve half a dozen men and women. Because I am not upon my high stool. It depends solely upon God. And the only help for the right and the trouble.

A Humiliating Task

"We may not consider any body as low. I tell you that you had provided for the right journey, a heavy horse being mounted on a road which a poor fellow is carried on his head. That was a humiliating sight. The man was being guided to walk first. I would not have the milk. I therefore get on speed and carried the whole company. But it was to me. The man was made to run after me. The humiliation was complete. If the world had to be moved, I should have found

in me some of the same qualities during it. We would then have a horse that with the wheel and the horse. He taking milk from such a load on his head. We might have a heavy loaded wheel. But what was the if I am on horse? Consider that, as I was on a small wheel and horse from the wheel and horse, then as a poor, miserable fellow. If there is no way to do this, what can I do? I am on horse, as you and I have not found the people.

"From my experience, you are not the I shall make in my life. I shall in the struggle. It will require an entire day. I shall be others and I'll see that it is a heavy load, whether I am alone or joined by thousands. I would rather die a day's death and have my horse led by dogs than that I should return to the Ashoka a broken man.

"Turning to the women, I concluded and surely look down on I finished the last sentence.

"I think that I have not well used the money you have given me at the abundance of your love. You are needed to support me as one of those wretched devils in the women upon in the beginning. Please me.

Inquire Zindabad

"Angadeh! Inquire Zindabad! Least the whole way out in conference and meeting hall, and the women Inquire Zindabad. The young men and women of India were asked to stand and they showed out their welcome to revolution and their will to do and do. Who could doubt the meaning of that? And who was any thing with enthusiasm at the great gathering and people? India was going to be free. The people had decided it.

"And today the people were moved on. In the long walk that is hard to go along the dusty roads of Gujarat, Orissa and Ben of sleep, with the faithful hand holding along behind him. Many a journey he has undertaken in the past, many a weary road traveled. But today that day that has been before in the last journey of his, and many are the glances in his way. But the fire of a great revolution is in him and inspiration born of his material countrymen. And first of truth that service and love of freedom that supports. And now that person has one more the soul and was of freedom day had the spirit of life. It is a long journey, but the goal is the independence of India and the ending of the exploitation of her millions.

"The people were moved. And whether you see, young men and women of India, who stand on today and on today of independence and Angadeh! Whether you see? When your horse is all in white and your clothes a more dark for the revolution in your hands? The field of battle has before you, the flag of India before in you and freedom before you. Young men and women, you are now but yesterday in India on the side? Is the revolution still in the coming hours before in you. India is freedom! Tell you the more leaders as in the glorious struggle and the past has and forever free the world of a great empire which has crushed your country and her children? What shall I tell you to get your empty degrees and your men as parades of the millions move and your materialism movement in freedom? India is free of India now! India is free of India now!

Angadeh! That was the end.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Notes

Dog in the Manger

The volume of information being passed daily shows how valuable the job is, has been designed. In order to prevent the use of salt that has not paid the tax which is at once even taxation, some of the salt, the Government destroys the salt it cannot sell profitably. This it does to protect the salt revenue, it prevents the public from manufacturing it and destroy what others manufacture without effect. No objective is strong enough for destruction the salt dog as the sugar policy. I once visited various houses of salt and saw destruction of salt as property on all parts of India. Hundreds of tons of salt are said to be destroyed on the Indian coast. The same tale comes from Dadri. Whenever there is a demand of salt and salt being taken away by the people living in the neighbourhood of such areas, for their personal use, salt officers are posted for the sole purpose of corrupt or destruction. Thus valuable national property is destroyed at national expense and salt taken out of the mouths of the people.

Not is that all. I was told on crossing the Ghed Talika that through the past people being prevented from collecting the salt that was prepared by nature or from manufacturing it they were deprived of the supplementary village industry they had in addition to the spinning wheel.

The salt monopoly is thus a beautiful source. It deprives the people of a valuable rural village industry, creates various disadvantages of property that causes distress in abundance, the destruction itself causes more national expenditure and finally, it opens the belly of the salt dog of more than 1,000 per cent is created from a starving people.

I cannot help thinking in this connection the fact and try that was raised when I first proposed the burning of foreign cloth. It was considered to be an extremely unwise proposal. It is generally admitted that foreign cloth is harmful to the people. But on the other hand is a vital necessity. But it has been said it daily being steadily destroyed in the interest of national industry.

This tax has remained so long because of the apathy of the general public. Now that is sufficiently aroused, there is no go. Now time it will be distributed depends upon the strength the people are able to put forth. Slavery the tax will not be long delayed.

Exaggerated Statements

Paragraphs have appeared in the press to the effect that 25 of my companions have been killed and captured. This is a gross exaggeration. It is quite true that they could not go to the sea for a few days but as the British Government. But that was because they were delayed and detained. With the exception of the case of my friend, which proved to be quite mild, there was no trouble with the water. One of the companions certainly had strong fever. But that fever too proved to be due to a mild case of malaria. He had a very constitution and was overworking there his ability to go through without coming. He would not believe that all nature absolutely completed him. But both are quite well now though being weak they are

will being cured in a week or two. They expect to join the campaign in Madras in a day or two with a little recovery and an evening. The fact is that at Andhra Pradesh let the salt work and working daily. It has become necessary to stop this saltwork in order to prevent further loss of salt to the public and friends. It would be impossible for anyone to have the great amounts of salt, it is said, to the Government and the Government will be forced upon the salt-pur plant by the British Government. It is said that on the Indian coast by Dr. Chaudhury and at Bombay.

A second man also be drawn from these workers. The second generation is a definite, work and much proposed. If they will take part in national work, they must take simple clothes and become hardy. And workers that produce an efficient, healthy, energetic, Government and the idea are good and may be added to working. They are no substitutes for workers, partly called the people of workers. Our march is in reality a play. Less than twelve miles per day at two stages with not much luggage should come on stage. Those who have not been workers have passed in weight. I may add too that the last Congress had, India and without India are present a most efficient remedy for small pox.

The True Spirit

Shri Ram Chandra Mehta, came the other day to Bombay, a fellow worker during the march. He was accompanied by Mahabharata, the daughter of Shri. Anand Narayan, Mahabharata the wife daughter of Jambhadr, Shri Ram Chandra Mehta and Mahabharata from the Andamans. They had to wear a bit for Bombay. They wanted to live in a village, wanted the time at their disposal. They saw that the surroundings of the place were not over there. They therefore decided to come up the hillside and to build for houses. For the captured villages. As soon as the villages reached where had happened, they also passed these national workers most of whom were drawn from various parts of India and the village of Dahanu perhaps were looked at close to when these workers arrived they spent time in the morning. I conceived that this was a good time to speak of the matter to the body of young men who are going to work and that the country, freedom will come only when we direct a comprehensive attack on all the weak points. Let it be known that all these workers have achieved an evil mission and are capable, even indignantly, wanting working policy. In this campaign of liberty by self-education, it will be nothing surprising if the workers study the case.

Mujib's Manifesto

The political Anand Bhawan, the pride of the Muslims, is to be national property from 25th instant, the second paragraph of the Manifesto has much service to his credit. Jawaharlal is his living gift to the nation. There was no need to add more and more. But I have to say here in part, with that opinion from which has the national movement now made known to the public. Truly, Mujib has opened as he has stated. Let us prove reality of his words and his gift.

H. K. G.

A Death-bed Repentance

The work of the master is not done "only a little" (though on spite of the social progress), but that more than 74 lakhs cringed in terror of the Mandarins and the Deputy Collectors and the whole army of their "subordinates" terrorising the countrymen, now from looting and extorting the poor Peasants, from corrupt and expelling them. A memorandum issued to Kheda District by the Collector and District Magistrate officials on knowing condition of these peasants.

"It has been brought to the notice of the Collector and District Magistrate that Kachnar and Police Peasants often do not receive from subordinates officers, that frequent visits to the villages to their presence in the village and as an officer level of Government. He would be asked if all levels of officers would improve in some way substantiated that the Peasants on the level of their villages and associated with local Magistrate powers should look to be addressed and treated with respect.

These elements long advances about a nobody, and a Peasants in the State district with a Deputy Collector of an enemy wants that goes against the District Magistrate the Peasants know well enough the history of the Government's efforts and want not going to be taken to by them. It is something however that after years and years of slavery, thanks to the progress of these large Peasants that backbone who will still continue in the service will also enjoy the money of being "rewarded with respect" by their superior officers. M. G.

Remember 6th April

This will be the master's birthday on Thursday 3rd instant. If there is no previous assembling, they all may, raised him as the word from me that all are here and those who are ready are expected to start again about Anandabhai regarding the job here, on from 6th April. Let me gather up what has been said in these pages of various issues.

The only stipulation for our discipleship is perfect observance of our resolve in the fullest sense of the term.

Thus our discipleship means acquaintance with the workers will slowly guide the masses in the largest steps. Let the masses will replace the workers themselves.

Discipleship volunteers will work development, and under all observance needed. They will be expected to be in the forefront.

Independence may not take order in any conventional pattern.

Whatever there is a violent struggle volunteers are expected to die in the attempt to quell violence.

Perfect discipline and perfect co-operation among the different units are indispensable for success.

If there is too much anarchy, those who are not engaged in our discipline are expected to accept themselves and advice others to be engaged in some national service such as Khadi work, Bhoodan and other planning, foreign cloth resistance, village sanitation, smothering the flames of civil resistance protests in a variety of ways.

Instead of there is a real response about our resistance regarding the salt tax, we should by proper organisation secure boycott of foreign cloth through Khadi and secure total prohibition. This should mean a saving of 21 crores per year, and supplementary work for the millions of unemployed. If we secure these things, we cannot be far from Independence. And not one of these things is beyond our capacity. M. G. G.

Hindu Muslim Question

[The speech delivered in French on 21st above dealt with the communal question and is rather important. A full summary is therefore given below. M. G. G.]

A Hindu youth has sent the question on the Hindu Muslim problem. One of them is, "Do you expect to see Swami through your own single effort or assisted merely by the Hindus? I have never dreamt that I could win Swami merely through my effort or assisted only by the Hindus. I stand in need of the assistance of Mohammed, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs, Jews and all other Indians. I need the assistance even of Englishmen, but I hope that all the combined assistance is worthless if I have not an inner assurance that is from God. All is vain without His help. And if He is with the struggle no other help is necessary.

But to realise His help and guidance in this struggle, I need your blessing, the blessing of all communities. The blessing of thousands of men and women belonging to all communities that have situated the march line to set a candle out of the hand of God in the struggle.

Now is the Time

I have had faith and devotion when the hand of God has to be raised in the name of man. But that is not such an occasion. Today I am doing what the nation has been yearning for during the past ten years. Have I not been rebuked for delaying social revolution? Have not friends eagerly said, "You are stopping the progress of the nation towards its goal? You have only to say, 'Let there be civil resistance, bahadur! there is Swami!'" There is some truth in the hint. Full civil resistance does mean having that inner strength and faith. I had no confidence in myself. I was stressing my eye to follow to the self small voice within, but only up to yesterday there was no response. It was in Lahore I had had a powerful that I was coming to the horizon to witness our civil resistance. But suddenly, as in a flash, I saw the light in the Arabian Self-confidence returned. Englishmen and some Indian workers have been waiting us against the horizon. But the voice within is clear. I want put forth all my effort to move altogether and for all those from public life. I feel that now is the time or it will be never.

And so I am out for battle and am seeking help in limited form from the white hand (working in Sri. Atha Thakur) to also the white girl. For in this battle even they can help and thank God, they are eager to do so. I have learned from them some demanding treatment.

The Satyagrahi's Strength

Thus the answer to the Hindu youth's question is complete. I need the help of all races and from all classes.

A Satyagrahi has no power to use and has only. All the power he has even to possess is from and of God. His strength comes towards his goal outpouring the world's opinion with him. Without the help of God he is lame, blind, groping.

Ever since 1911 I have been receiving two words, 'self-reliance' and 'selflessness'. God will not assist him without these two. The world is lashed by anger. It does not show discrimination about the words of a man, but to God. He is all mercy. He waits on the path of the cause and on adequate sacrifice therefore.

The question was put by a Mohammed representing a powerful nation. But had a little more god upon

and my last English document placed upon the table. No, I should have given him that letter, and said, "Without the help of international capitalism, I am destined to see this country free. I can justify my the whole-hearted pursuit of this aim. If this comes true, I have my ultimate position set in the space of the hourglass. As long as the oil has been hot and clear, it filled the hourglass. They have now grown mixed and cold."

Yes, I know that I have not the 14 brothers with me. Michael Stoker. As well as being here are in his pocket. We are not friends, I do not trust him. I hold no detraction between him and blood brother. His intentions therefore can only be identified. If truth be told, the brothers must understand. They should keep their heads out of the battle. I cannot see the situation of England. It was neither empty formula nor a bunch of empty that prompted me to send an English friend with my letter to the Viceroy. But choosing Reginald Hargreaves as my messenger, I asked the hand between them and me. For my setting of not against them, it is against their rule. I want to be here to be an instrument to remove the end of that rule. But of a host of an English hand was needed. I should find the same good as I should have made a meeting by my brother. I say to him as a friend, "Who will you not understand that your rule is against the country? It has got to be destroyed even though you may pretend to be kinder or driven to. We must declare what we feel."

The Congress Pledge

The second question is "Under Ghandi, how many seats will Muslims have in the legislatures?" What answer can I return to such a question? If I were Viceroy of India I should say to the Mohammed Ricks, Christians, Parsis, etc. "Take what you like, the balance will go to the Hindus. It is true that the Hindus Ricks will never let me become Viceroy. The fact is that I am not to do such a thing. But I should be sufficient to have that the Congress has played itself not to accept any communal scheme that does not satisfy the parties concerned. I am bound by that pledge. For the Congress of all men. They are all Hindus and therefore their freedom is guaranteed. No more can be expected by any community."

Civil discontent will surely give the place to the desire to amend law will that when the time comes for its execution, the demand satisfying the will will have to be made by all the concerned. Thus, without the co-operation of all communities, there is no independence.

But what should we do meanwhile? We must at least be true to the wish we set. Her wrongdoings are the rule of India's earth. To be true to them, we must live the rule from a law which they have to pay equally with the debt and in the same proportion as the rich. In our ignorance we have been paying the taxation legislation. Having realised our folly we will be failures in the wrongdoings, if we submit to the taxation any longer.

Who can help bring the poor man's battle? The devil has no respect of persons. It is therefore no mistake the subject of the Mohammeds of the Hindu to women as children. This is a fight which is in the name of God and for the sake of the millions of the progress of this country.

At Long Last

It was British that for the first time compelled Government to turn their attention to the million 1000 of their poorest policy. The Parliamentary Joint Committee made its recommendations in considerable time in order to show years ago, in the effect that the whole policy of taxation had to be revised and brought under legislative control. Nine years after the recommendations a Land Assessment Inquiry Committee was appointed in England, and when its recommendations were made Government had good cause to regret the most important of them. In the meanwhile the land issue in the shape of Warfall made the dead issue, and last year the Government recognised that there had been something seriously wrong with their revenue policy and that they were contemplating legislation on "ground and progressive lease." More than a year has elapsed since the declaration that there is no more yet of the taxing legislation. The Government of India, however, in 1925 and a half ago to make a resolution in order to give effect to the last Parliamentary Committee's recommendations. But no resolution is forthcoming and the demand and progress is still still continues to find the poor people to show. In the meanwhile the desperate condition in two of the couple of hundred lakhs in the provinces, has attracted the attention of Government and they have come out with a statement announcing the appointment of a special officer to deal as rapidly as to "whether the current land revenue which have been levied in these lakhs since the year 1913-14 will have been maintained for a period of 20 years or whether in the meantime any levelling." The lakhs in question are Malabar and Madras, and the Government are pleased to recognise that "the economic condition of both lakhs appears to be unsatisfactory, and it is possible that they may no longer be capable of bearing the existing assessment without a change in the conditions."

Last one should be to look to the Government in Government for what they should have done 15 years ago. I must correct the old revenue and taxation history of these two lakhs. Rather than with the reader to turn to my article about these lakhs, written some six months ago, I shall take to extract from it. I am afraid I cannot correct it, as it is that the broadest possible summary of several Government reports.

"The last collection of the lakhs was made in 1913-14, and a revenue survey was carried out in 1921-24 by Mr. Foran, who recommended an enhancement of assessment. In five years, however, came the "disastrous famine of 1925 when the population fell with a heavy, early war came and the whole economic situation in England was again. Realising that the existing assessment posed heavily on the people, Government called for reports and recommended assessment rates in several lakhs amounting from 15 to 20 per cent reduction. These assessment rates were levied until 1928 when the Commissioner of the Deccan and the United Provinces Commissioner discovered that "in both lakhs Madras and Malabar the rates of assessment fixed in the revenue settlement in 1913-14 are higher than the lands generally can bear." The former rates were excessive rates, but how was

then discovery made 28 years after the settlement going to affect those who had paid the settlement rates until 1930, when farmers came by their action to the aid?

"Well, in 1933 a fresh settlement was ordered, and the Settlement Officer who submitted the report in July 1935 stated as to those meeting the rates last:

"1. From 1928-1933 there were only 5 normal years, i. e., years in which the rainfall was adequate and well distributed. There were 8 years in which there was 'a general crop failure' (1929, 1930, 1934, 1935 and 1933).

"2. In spite of this 'general crop failure', there were compulsory purchases of cotton even in these years, the report shows. Even only for 1933 to 1935. In 1933-34 there were no more than 799 pesadly cottons, 89 districts, 305 farmers."

"3. At the time of the last survey the area of land lying fallow was 8.71 per cent. At the present survey it was no more than 2.14 per cent."

"4. Rice which is the most valuable crop grows in a normal year showed a high percentage decrease, viz., from 21.44 per cent to 23.79 per cent due to deficient water supply."

"5. Steady decline in population. 79,000 in 1901, 64,322 in 1931, 55,768 in 1951. The population of the Kachis (prevented for their industry) showed a decline of 25 per cent."

"6. The percentage increase in Government revenue charge is 54 per cent of the 'net profit' as such, as the cost of increased landwork to excavate the soil ponds. In Kachis taluka however the percentage of Government revenue only was as much as 120 per cent at its highest. The average only in a few cases 14 per cent and in the rest of the talukas it was somewhere between 71 and 94 per cent."

"7. Chronic deterioration of roads, and imposing of 'coloured water rates' where there was no such water and no well supplies."

"8. Land steadily being outcropped."

"9. To spite of the rise in prices since 1930 when the settlement rates were introduced, the condition of the taluka except even now be considered as good as it was at the time of the Revenue Survey, though of course the higher prices now obviously afford ground for hoping for a quicker recovery than would otherwise have been possible, given a succession of good seasons for some years (Robertson)."

"Yes, a Settlement Officer never gives up hope that the people will quickly recover and pay an equitable rate of revenue. The Settlement Officer in the present case would have been justified if he had reduced the rates by at least 20 per cent, but he felt 'bound to regard the settlement rates as a standard of what the people can pay' when he himself has given a long list of compulsory purchases and assessments even during the years of successive failures."

"But that he admitted even in the statement of his when actually recommending the rates. In 15 villages he reduced the rate by 4 per cent, but in

10 villages he recommended 14.44 per cent over the settlement rate (amount) from 20 to 40 per cent."

"The report was submitted to Government through the Collector of District of Ghazal and stated as to Government that the land is properly well cultivated and the rural and agricultural conditions "I would again express to Government, by way of 'that the present peculiar situation of Kachis taluka is entirely due to depopulation and working short-hand has nothing whatever to do with high assessments. He refused to discuss however what the proposed depopulation was due to. He had no doubt that no collection was necessary, that even the Government rates must go and that the objections raised by the people were 'to the whole pointless."

"When these proposals came to Mr Anderson, the Settlement Commissioner, he was before asked, he was asked that though every one supposed that there was in Kachis 'a decline in population, an exhausted area, an exhaustion of wealth, in cattle and crops, and a large increase in cropped fallow, and exhausted decline in water supply and an exhausted burden of debt and past land revenue and a steadily bad revenue history' the Collector had actually remarked that there was no justification for reduction and 'the people can well afford to pay'. The usual situation, but one true quality, were extremely in favour of the taluka, and himself he could not agree that—"That Mr Ghazal's proposed increase upon Government rates" therefore, he refused, "I cannot possibly assent to it. I should like to see the collection as far as the Assistant Settlement Officer proposed. The point has not been well under discussion but in therefore give a fair indication of the opposite treatment and if after 10 years he has worked but that they are not with a better assessment rate but since 1947." But his "opposite treatment" was in no way better than Mr Robertson's proposals."

"The papers were ultimately in the then Commissioner Mr Ford who was more concerned than Mr Anderson. He was very to have to discuss so completely with the Collector, and he was surprised that although Mr Anderson had adopted a correct line of reasoning and although he had said that 'the most we can think of raising rates' Mr Ghazal's taluka are the rates fixed under the settlement of 1931-34, he had practically ordered Mr Robertson's rates which in 10 villages were 20 to 40 per cent over the settlement rates, that in spite of all this reasoning, Mr Ford proposed, though they were far to satisfy Mr Robertson's proposals, about a reduction of only 4 per cent in 15 villages and an increase in Government rates starting from 4 to 14 per cent in 10 villages."

"That is how in the end settlement history of the taluka. Every official, according to the statement Mr Ghazal, agreed that the condition of the taluka suggested drastic reductions but no one had the courage of his conviction."

"The case of 11 villages which are described in the report as 'definitely' or 'probably' are



Now a word to the "unscrupulous." I have advised them and I repeat the advice that it is utterly unscrupulous for them to seek to have money take the collective struggle as its vehicle for the purpose of the "unscrupulous," the leaders of the struggle. It is for the "unscrupulous" to offer the Congress when the time is ripe. The "unscrupulous" know that the Congress has appointed with intention as the head a committee for that very purpose. They know that very great progress has been made in the course of removal of unscrupulousity, they know that all over India are to be found hundreds of well-known laboring Hindus who will lay down their lives to remove unscrupulousity. The enterprise laid out in the last days and months to purge the Hindu majority of the west. Let the unscrupulous know that the vast majority of them are today engaged in this life and death struggle. If they notice the work of the movement I have made, they will at least respect the Congress passing the struggle even if the whole mass of them will not pay of as some of them have already done. The Hindu movement have undertaken the work not as politics, not as dry, the lowest to the unscrupulous, certainly not to exploit them politically. They have undertaken the task because their conception of Hinduism necessarily demands it. They have either to have Hindus or to make good the claim that unscrupulousity is no part of it, but that it is an consequence to be avoided.

Women in Cordoba

The conference of experts in physics, the so-called Munich 5 Conference, I had called from the United States Government prohibition against the Munich treaty was playing between Munich and I also was not called the full 12 miles to Munich. The following conference was subsequently selected.

[illegible]

The existence in all systems that depend on foreign state is possible only through kind and therefore the women attempted creative branches to use kind help and well as far as possible open regularly and not have all the previous processes and provide the resources of kind among their neighbors, teach them the processes up to spreading and encourage them to give resources.

The members appoint the following Executive Committee with power to draw up a constitution and to extend it from time to time and add its their members.
(Names will be submitted on the next week)

The Conference hopes that women will come together and the other programs will take up the momentum started at this conference.

I regard the entrance of the Young movement as of the highest importance. I read not without the greatest interest the account already advanced on these pages. *Witchamander* has already commenced operations. She is in the women to let the poor girls make her last. The story is for twenty to twenty-five women to go to one house and plant themselves and make light sleep and come on personal contact with every member of the house or family sleep and come from there. They will also appear in the sleepers to give up the personal matter and use their individual character better.

Foreign cloth shops are to be located in the same way as liquor shops, so long as there are enough licensed liquor vendors. Through the same mechanism and entry as the two hospitals it will necessarily have two branches. It will be open to any person to offer his services. The only new branch of work will be necessary that every member should belong to the Congress. Only this must be clearly understood, that the work is part of the Congress, progressive and has tremendous political content if it has also equity great social and

Those who will belong to the house which houses South should realize that without the constructive work of Khaki producing the new fabric will be a northern success. Its very success without the producers of Khaki will prove the test of the national movement of independence. If the nation will give it up as simple cloth, but they will care as if they thought that the new style is more or less the style that we get in the West. The formula therefore is demand for the new style and the new style.

Black and white is already there in a cloud of black. Most of the black artists are in the left category. Therefore the problem has shifted a temporary cloud.

[illegible]

Of course's part in the success I have had enough to my credit which I unapologetically attributed to the men who had come to Duff. External parts of the speech are reported characteristics. Suffice it here to say that even well designed the movement, if they will coincide with woman's perfecting whatever is a contribution by them.

H. C. G.

Police conduct in Bombay

[The difference in the condensed translation of a Hindi letter received by Gaudy from Pandit Mahendralokya, who was in attendance at the proceedings which resulted in the arrest of Sri Mahendralokya, Ahmednagar and Calcutta.]

Yesterday at 3 P. M. about three hundred police-men accompanied by English and Indian Inspectors of police raided the Congress House after their correspondence on a wire. A British officer also was with them. As soon as they appeared in the room only Congress volunteers at once present formed a circle round the wall just before. The police party rushed against and began to demolish the sturdy two inch gate that had been constructed on the roof of the Congress House. The volunteers who tried to follow them, there were prevented from going against by the police. By that time the only person who was admitted there, only in the evening.

The work of dismantling the salt pike, and the removal of the records, ended in the municipality of 1900 that had been asked and the drawing up of the Peabody's took about two hours. In the morning the record of symposiums, and the calendar began to mail and upon the entire space spent about the Congress House as also the road running round it were packed in the conference. The record materials contained at this time about all dissolved.

After the work of destruction against was over the police party came down and wanted to enter the office, but found they were blocked by a mob of volunteers who, led by William Perinot Clarke, had placed themselves there and refused to budge in spite of all the persuasions of the police. "You may arrest me, or the volunteer you like. But you shall not make us desert our post of duty. If you think only one."

the expressions of the police: "You love your country" and *Paradisa* to the English officers as the means of discussion, "why are you here and we shall do what we can to make it less." When the police found that their arguments were of no avail they began to push them aside by physical force. But satisfied by the police charge these began before set up such firm resistance, that the police could make no impression on them for about ten minutes, and even when they were forced to fall back they resumed their ground inch by inch. This lasted for another 5 or 10 minutes in the end however they were completely overpowered and the police made their way into the office and the march began.

The march of this morning had become started but when these men had eaten and the local police men who tried to overpower them by sheer brute force had the satisfaction of the people outside to a fearful pitch.

They sang national songs, to encourage the fallen and sent the cry by their shouts of *Vande Mataram*.

A Parsi man who was present there was so deeply moved that he began to clap his hands and to dance at the melody of song. For throughout this remarkable demonstration the entire mass of people continued no less than 60 thousand showed an exemplary will to resist and never once betrayed the slightest sign of ill will or anger. It was a most sublime and inspiring spectacle indeed.

The police search for saltland salt on the office having failed, they next turned their attention to the salt pits situated with a view to demolishing them. But a party of volunteers about 100 strong had already formed a human shield there. The police charged them, some and again, but for half an hour all attempts to break through them, and to reach the salt pans proved unsuccessful. The volunteers bore the assaults of the police patiently and cheerfully, but refused to budge an inch. I myself was present on the scene and I was truly that not a finger was raised in retaliation or self-defence, nor did the volunteers in their turn try to push back the police. They simply stood there ground and maintained an unshakable calm till the very end.

I must not start to mention the *Khandari* who also came in but has done share of the rough handling during this battle. The women and children who are displayed on the scene are very pitifully miserable.

They look every bit like *Abel Ah*, *Waher Ah* and *Sedjoh* with them. The women are profoundly depressed.

I have not yet had description of the conduct as stated as I am sure that the conduct and power which the people displayed on this occasion in spite of their numbers in the midst of the greatest persecution would place you reasonably. It would have been the smartest thing for them to overpower the police, but with an exemplary self-restraint. They stood aside and watched the unequal contest, and not one person left his place to reinforce the column of volunteers. The men continued and the persons who they exhibited on the occasion was really such as to compel praise and fill one with the brightest hopes for the future.

As a result of the incident a number of persons enrolled themselves as volunteers on the spot. The tide of popular enthusiasm continues to swell and everything is proceeding beautifully.

The Inhuman Tax

Every man everywhere grieved at the treatment of the salt tax shows it to be more inhuman than it appeared at first. Living and moving as I am in the midst of the salt area in Gujarat, I find that villages have been razed because of the prohibition of salt manufacture by the villages. The only way the people can make use of the land is to extract salt from it while saline deposits in abundance have made it sterile. This was the poor man's staple industry in those parts. Now all that land lies fallow. Death itself has a single history. It is a beautiful seaside place. It takes its name from the fact that it was a place for a dead *dead*, a *dead* light house. Now it is a deserted village. A *Khandari* and their leaders stand against nature to reduce the land to cultivation. As I walk along the otherwise beautiful progressing shore and listen for the heavenly music of the gentle waves, I am almost too much human effort in the shape of abandoned exhausted fields without a patch of vegetation. These very fields, once the beautiful salt rosebuds in bloom, will be valuable salt pans from which villages will extract their, while spending salt without much labour, and it will give them a living as it did their ancestors.

Ministry of Home has already shown similar Governmental commiseration that this salt is essential to health is a widely believed. In spite of the inhuman regulations, the people stand about their area have used since but the salt that makes people here is abundant. They do not seem to have left any the worse for it. Thousands all over the area have been during the past week since the salt work stopped. I know that in Gujarat people have all their years said what they expect as *Gandhi* salt is contributing to the good salt which they regard as essential as foreign, although in the first instance it was yielded by India's earth and men. The change which I published in the news has been proposed by two careful men who have studied its nature. According to it every house hold can prepare its own salt without any harmful whatever. One box has nearly to hold a bushel of salt water and it has merely to be stirred or filtered and put over the fire in a shallow pan and cooked in accordance with the recipe and the householders have every day supply of salt much cleaner and healthier than the 'saline' or 'foreign' dry salt to be had in the house. Let the salt *Khandari* (and they are to be content in their use of thousands will not make a single grain of household salt. Now as so few there is now no excuse for any one to use the heavy salt *Gandhi* salt except by using dead men whose lives are on salt beds. It can be easily transported in small quantities from place to place. Let the Government provide less of thousands of men and women as if they dare, send their officials to search their persons and 'bravely' force it from them. Let them say 'The salt law shows it.' I have already shown that the salt regulations are an inhuman as the tax itself. If the history of the administration in the early stages of these regulations were known, it would be found that these inhuman regulations were so thoroughly administered in order to deprive the people of their natural salt and compel them to use the bloodstained refined salt. Let the reader know that even *Khandari*

did not know them. Later the first woman got better informed and she said she would not have sold her pole in those villages if she had known them. And this went well too, the three back the fire-croppers started around the last pole and walked away with them, at the instigation of Ambabhai. Well enough, Ambabhai! He was tried for abetment of theft and sentenced to 2 years rigorous imprisonment. The public prosecutor said at the close of his argument: "This case has done much to discipline the Government in villages, and therefore deserves a severe sentence." Two volunteers simply asked a village not to allow the removal of the volunteers. They were sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment for the offence.

In spite of the best efforts to create chaos by means of the chaotic administration of the law, there has been considerable peace everywhere and peace determination to prosecute the campaign.

—And of 'Order'

The tall people may be depressed at the "what of the leaders who have successfully broken the law?" The maximum capacity of the jails in the Bombay Presidency is not much over 12,000, but have not they been full for four times the number? A good proportion, surely. There were four thousand men in Government jails to man the Salt Law—10 to enforce the law without reference to or respect for persons, 10 to receive at the offices and to be guilty of "corruption" under the Salt Law, 10 to allow the officers and men to behave like brutes and thugs. They have chosen the last course as the best under the circumstances. The reports received from various places give vivid striking accounts from eyewitnesses of the intimidation and brutality practised on the name of law and order. Here is an excerpt from a Delhi letter:

"The two days we manifested will without any excessive show of force on the part of the police. But on the third day our defiance proved too much for the police. The volunteers were wounded as the police tried to wrest from our hands a bottle of salt. Only after they had held down us to their hands' control could they dispose of our salt. Among the wounded five were very seriously injured. They had been heavily lacerated on the chest and the abdomen. Two returned seven injuries on their private parts. I was greatly distressed about these conditions."

I went to Chanderi myself. The English officers there paid a tribute to the "uplifted defiance" of our volunteers. "I am sorry," I said, "that your splendid behaviour does not make you behave properly." "Why?" asked me to say? asked me of those called Mr. Fletcher. "You want me to describe your men's conduct. They are behaving like brutes," said I. "They do you any good?" "If being so not brutal what else can be said?" "You mean to be intimidated," he said on this, and added: "Nothing beyond a few scratches and bruises. You can easily remove in a hospital ward." A husband asked (asked). As the volunteers appeared on the scene with their clenched fists, they were detained and asked to surrender the salt. "No," said every one of them, and the police ordered the Salt policemen to do the "dirty job." Some of them fell upon the single volunteer who was overpowered after

a hard struggle of some minutes. His finger was bleeding and I took him to Mr. Fletcher. "It is very unfortunate," I said, "he said, 'What what else is happening if they show a remainder today?' What is necessary to be done soon, while blooded policemen on a bed of violence." I asked him "I am engaged with a 7-gg number of men to secure the removal of force" to reply. The 10 men were not satisfied with the duty according to the salt law the volunteers' hands. They were all ready to obey. They hardly got in a handful of salt into their emptied hands. I returned to Ambabhai and described the scene as a crowded meeting. The District Superintendent of Police sent three of his subordinates to assure me that the men of Chanderi had strict orders not to use violence and that he was entering a special office to see that no force was used. I was flabbergasted by the assurance, and I took it on purpose, the 12th March when the police had deflected the thought of a volunteer, which seemed to have been raised to allow the volunteers a free hand. Nevertheless I begged Mr. Fletcher to see if the sentence had improved. He saw the most unusual place—"I saw in two police were ready attempting to arrest me from the group of our Salt supporters, but he felt that the European officials there were not best to be trifled with. On the morning of his return from Chanderi, however, looking about of indignation of the most hostile character took place there. Hundreds of volunteers offered Salt water and thousands of volunteers stood there. The men were from the nearest small village. "Eight or ten police men fell upon Ambabhai," were the report, which is corroborated by accounts given by three independent witnesses. "They, heavily armed, beat him, struck him with, hit on the chest and abdomen, pressed their legs onto his neck, so much so that 'Ambabhai' the volunteer Mr. Fletcher and others quickly withdrew the brutality. When he returned what had happened, he offered to carry him to the hospital. The volunteers were loath to deliver their brave comrade to the custody of the police and finally decided. We have been to the Local Medical Hospital where after an hour and a half Ambabhai recovered after an operation of emergency. As soon as he regained consciousness, he said: 'Where am I?' I hope not in a Government hospital. I want still my salt in my grasp. Please take me to the camp of this is a Government hospital."

Across a from Bangalore arrived on we got to the great police equally numerous details of volunteer arrests. The 12 men there for the very week I shall say nothing about Bombay. Sir Michael Macleod's letter reproduced elsewhere reads for itself.

All honour to the volunteers who are fighting this unequal battle. They are bravely being deprived of the privilege of going to call their wives at their homes and give determination to go through the tribulation and torture, punishment on them, as well as a steady unswerving to day. Their work and cannot make up for brought before today in our and their capacity, to suffer for the maintenance of any which our friends who have engaged with a Salt Police, will give very.

M. D.

Latest News

Salt smugglers were charged with 27 dollars of revenue on March 4 and the Government including 10000 L.A. and 10000 L.A. were sentenced to 1 month to 12 years imprisonment. 10000 L.A. smugglers are being paid under the 1914 P.C. Income Taxation Order in South Africa has been sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

Weekly War News

Gujarat

Surendra. Sp. Kishorlal Datta, a professor of Gujarati Vidyapeeth and Dr. Manoharlal Nayak were arrested and sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment under 117 I P C. Sp. Kishorlal also got three months' rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 47 Sub. Act, the sentence to run concurrently. A. Datta, Dattatray Salba and Sp. Manoharlal Datta a member of Gujarat Vidyapeeth were arrested at Lal and sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment each under 117 I P C. Sp. Vilasdas Mehta, a former member of Bombay Youth League was arrested at Porbandar a new rule coming up sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment under 117 I P C. Dr. G. G. Chav. Jivandas Chavdas Thakur Congress Committee has also been arrested under 117 I P C.

Sp. Mahadevi Pandya, Sp. Manoharlal Datta, and Sp. Mohanlal Chavdas were arrested on the 18th inst. while they were looking for a new rule coming into effect.

Surat. Sp. Chandrahal Chhabildas Dandia was arrested at Adilnagar and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 117 I P C. and his two volunteers were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 25 each. None of them paid the fine but the police released them. Of the 11 volunteers arrested with Dr. Chandrahal Dandia, Sp. Pradip Mahadevi Dandia, Anant Chhabildas Shikharbhai, Mahadevi Shabbdas, Pankajdas Meharbhai and Mahadevi Gendrabhai were sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50, or one month's additional imprisonment in default, and others were released.

Sp. Ishwarlal Dnyanesh Thakkar, Sp. Ishwarbhai Chhabildas and a young boy were arrested for writing seditious note at Bhatia. Captain of Bhatia volunteers Sp. Chhatrangbhai and Chhatrangbhai were arrested and sentenced to 1 month's and 3 months' imprisonment respectively.

Rhoda. Sp. Jivandas Chhatrangbhai, Secretary Bhatia Taluka Congress Committee and a member of Gujarat Vidyapeeth was arrested in 2 years' rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 117 I P C. and Rs. 500 fine or one month's additional imprisonment in default.

Sp. Kanchan Parikh a professor of Gujarat Vidyapeeth was sentenced to 1 month's simple imprisonment and Rs. 50 fine, or one month's additional imprisonment in default and Sp. Pradipbhai Thakkar, Secretary Mahadevabhai Taluka Congress Committee, has been sentenced to one and a half years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine, or default 3 months' additional imprisonment, under Sec. 117 I P C. Sp. Mohanlal Pancharamji a retired President of Bhatia Mahasabha was sentenced to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment and Sp. Chhatrangbhai Secretary of Bhatia Youth League was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 117 I P C. Sp. Tulashibai Datta a member of Gujarat Vidyapeeth was sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment under 117 I P C. Sp. Varnanbhai Patel of Chhatras Meharbhai Society was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine, or three months' additional imprisonment in default, Sp. Bhikhabhai also from the same society is 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, or 3 months' additional in default, and Sp. Bhargava to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine, or 4 months' additional in default.

Alakhnabad. Sp. Subramanyam Gopala Mehta was arrested at Dhanu and sentenced to 2 years' simple imprisonment.

Sp. Subramanyam Mahadevi Datta, a member of Bhatia Taluka Congress Committee was sentenced to 1 year's simple imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine or 3 months' rigorous imprisonment under 117 I P C. Sp. Jivandas Chhabildas Dandia a member of Mahadevabhai Taluka Congress Committee was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 500 fine or 3 months' rigorous imprisonment. At Chhatras Meharbhai cell was built and Rs. 1000 in all was collected.

Other Parts

Bombay. Sp. Jivandas Papp, President Bhatia Taluka District Congress Committee, Sp. Mohanlal Mahadevabhai, the late President of Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Sp. Subhas Chandra of National Institute of Arts, Poona all were tried under Sec. 117 I P C. and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment.

Sp. Abul M., Mohanlal and Subhas were all sentenced for violation of Sub. Act and sentenced to 6 months' simple, 6 months' simple (also served) respectively.

Mumbai. Sp. Chhatrangbhai Chhabildas was sentenced to one month's and Sp. Jivandas Taluk and Mahadevabhai Dandia to two months' simple imprisonment.

Ajmer. Sp. Varnanbhai Patel and Subhas Varnanbhai have been arrested under 117 I P C.

Delhi. Sp. Dnyanesh Gendia, a former member of 12 members were arrested on the 14th. He is to be tried under Sec. 117 I P C. Other leaders were also arrested among them, Late Mahadevabhai President Bhatia Taluka District Congress Committee, Sp. Mahadevabhai Dandia, Member of Tal. Act House, Sp. Chhatrangbhai and also two others.

Alakhnabad. Pradip Jivandasbhai Dandia President of the Indian Mahasabha Congress has been arrested and sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment under Sec. 3 of Sub. Act.

Agra. Sp. Krishnabhai Pandey, editor of Bhatia a weekly paper and the President of Agra District Congress Committee was sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment.

Cawnpore. Mahadevabhai Mehta, Secretary Cawnpore Subhasbhai Cawnpore has been sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment. Sp. Chhatrangbhai Dandia has been sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment for membership in the Bhatia cell.

Rae Bareilly. Sp. Subramanyam, Secretary District Congress Committee has been arrested.

Ludhiana. Datta Mahadevi Dandia, Chief of Ludhiana District Congress Committee, Mr. Jivandas Ashraf, President Taluk Congress Committee, Mr. C. M. Gupta Advancing, Mahadevabhai Dandia, a member of A. I. C. C., Pradip Jivandasbhai Ashraf, Dr. Lakshmanbhai and Mr. Jivandas Meharbhai, Secretary District Congress Committee have been arrested for writing and distributing seditious note.

Calcutta. Sp. Subhas Gupta, Member of Calcutta was arrested on the 14th inst. for publicly getting students from prohibited Bhatia. They are all sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition, conspiracy and obstructing police officers in discharge of their duty.

Dehradun. Chhatras Meharbhai and Sp. Pradipbhai Bhatia, Mr. M. L. C. President Mahasabha, Genl. Dhandabhai Dandia and Subhas Dandia have been arrested.

Uttar Pradesh. Sp. Dhandabhai Chhabildas and Pradipbhai Dandia have been arrested under 117 I P C.

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Hindu Muslim Unity

As we make misrepresentation is being made about my attitude in the communal question, without entering into any argument I would state my position as clearly as my knowledge of the language would enable me to do.

1. The views that I have held for the last 16 years remain unchanged.

2. I hold that there is no Sacred without communal unity as without several other things I have repeatedly mentioned.

3. The present campaign is not designed to establish Independence but to win the people with the power to do so.

4. When the power has been transferred and the time has come for the establishment of Independence, Hindumuslim and all other minorities will have to be placated. If they are not, there must inevitably be civil war. But I live in the hope that if we succeed in generating the power, our differences and distrust will vanish. There are due to our weakness. When we have the power from which we shall shed our weak-ness.

5. The Indian Constitution having passed the communal question has authority beyond The Labour Congress declaration declares in no many words that the communal question not having given satisfaction either to the Hindu or the Musalmans, the question might have to be reconsidered so as to give satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

6. The only unaltered relation I have is for the Hindu to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern the country. This is an absolute belief. The relation is oriented with no risk. For under a free Government the real power will be held by the people. That Government is being given now. The existing Government will be rendered absolutely impotent if the people withdraw their power as it is a disciplined nation and for the common good. In Great the people are richer each of them in the strength and valiance they are showing today are genuine and not derived from blind faith. It must be remembered that only an individual perspective of the people can hold positions of responsibility and power in a country's government. Experience all the world over shows that the real power and wealth are possessed by people outside the 'going that hold the reins of government. We in India have not often power, because our people are oppressed and will be exploited. The present united India is subject to the case. Indepen-

dence achieved through non-violent power, won by the very same means compares to a wilderness. It is that my present relation which has suggested the solution. The fact is that we are today unable to visualize anything contrary to our experience present or believed. Yet what can be clearer than that an Independent India must be something quite outside our present experience. It is of course open to the public to say that both non-violence and Independent India achieved through it must only be my imagination. My next step is that, God willing, I shall not be found anything in an India that remains there in spite of this struggle to make an India Independent achieved through violent means. I affirm that under an independence violently achieved, relations have to take care of themselves. But that stands in the existing Government, they do not need much warning to do. For the Government could be playing its community against the other or others. The difficulty of my voice comes from that warning or doubting my good. I remain content, because they won't be able long to ignore or doubt my word.

7. My verbalised intentions are as follows: to those who understand, to it only India, the implication of non-violence.

8. There can be nothing to expect in relation to the will say or the drink and sleep that or the burden of foreign debt through Hindu. I therefore do not hesitate to hold all to take their due share in the new page. Those who will not, simply step to themselves the opportunity of giving the power of resistance to and under away considerable dimensions.

9. I have indicated again still dependence without any reservation save that of non-violence for the simple and prophetic reason that non-violence shall not be in danger of being wanted in the fight. I could not possibly contemplate such a calamity with equanimity. I am at once that if non-violence was a great force, it must be able to make its way even through violence and finally supersede it.

M. K. G.

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Second Week Victory for the Devil

I was pained to have to record a distinct 'victory for the devil' during the second week of the war. Pleading as we are to strict non-violence and truth, any consideration of force or blood or violence as not just means a victory for the devil in us. The fight we are engaged in is not only a fight against the "British" South Government but also a constant fight against the State in us. And the only consideration in violence and blood and pain, whatever may be the supposed duty of the police for them, are a distinct loss to the cause.

The prosecution was certainly very good, perhaps the greatest in Calcutta, where the volunteers started on a mad career out only of clapping the last known leaders and leaders of peace into jail, but of clapping all processes and messages. In Calcutta there was absolutely no message for long on the radio. Crowds do unfortunately gather in the most composed messages whenever a leader is arrested and tried. If the volunteers do gradually develop peace, they would be overpowered and misled in handling the situation. In Calcutta they were anything but that. The idea on the radio was all the more exaggerated and out against when the volunteers knew that Sir Jameson had McLean with four volunteers were absolutely straining every nerve to keep the crowds in order. "I noticed," says Sir Jameson, "that women were being thrown out by those who were on the inner side of the road, but those who were on the further side. So I decided to go up to them and check them. Well, when whistling just me, I was forced towards the other side. I had barely moved five or five paces from the gate when there came out without any warning whatsoever. I felt it was too late to do anything. So I turned to get back just at that moment I received a shot. In front were also the volunteers, among them were Duttajoy and Mahajan, who had been there long in the name of peace. Knowing that there were in the forefront the volunteers ought to have given a chance to them. But they preferred to believe as though they were lost in reacting to outbreaks of violence.

But to say that the volunteers are a violent demonstration is not in violence any guilt. We cannot all the possible side when we entered on the war and we are obliged to acknowledge, we must have given the provocation.

1931 and 1933

But the thing that distinguishes the present movement from that of 1931 is that in spite of outbreaks of violence here and there, it is based almost on non-violence, and for a few organized bodies ready to make trouble, we will have numerous Bargarhans ready to lay down their lives. The outstanding feature of the contrast is not only that Sir Jameson received a bullet wound and Sir Duttajoy and Mahajan had wounds, but also that neither has it yet been alleged that any volunteer in Bargarhan had anything to do with the outbreak. Not that Government had no method any not had ready action in the shape of men

who would make themselves as volunteers and remain modelled. But the movement does show a fair number of people everywhere ready to do as the attempt to keep the peace, and where it is physically impossible for them to reach, ready to stand for the maintenance of it, of those who have joined the movement.

There is another distinguishing feature. In the first place of Bargarhan it was clear to find were ready to face a boycott or ready change, much less a bullet. The fight of the crowds in Jallianwalla in 1919 perpetrated has done that by its means a refusal to be provoked. And during the aftermath of that terrible tragedy greatly broad hearts were prepared on every people who was completely covered down as a result. The startling story of the volunteers in Bihar, and of the volunteers killed in Duttajoy, as also of those in Vinnagan and Duttajoy and Duttajoy who would make as circumstances necessary that will open an entirely new and a good page in our history. It is not as much the matter of the judgment as it is an example—the latter suffering and self-sacrifice of many as volunteers correct that will necessarily contribute to lay the foundation and form the pillars of peace.

Chittagong

I have not talked about the happenings in Chittagong. It is difficult just yet to gauge the seriousness and implications of that strike and, but we can well hold the Bargarhans responsible for it. The 'non-violence' here goes themselves and our movement a cruel wrong. They may be as we need to see it, and for right we can say we may not have faced the fact of that kind of activity. But if it is to stop, it will not stop by voluntary submission and without resistance, it will stop only when our right conscience has reached death. Let us not overestimate the significance and possibilities of this movement. Our disobedience is synonymous with non-violence and the only efficient form of non-violence under a system of arbitrary and unscrupulous rule. And the only way of preventing unscrupulous violence is to allow as people as much as possible to influence our violence. Suspension of the movement would be the failure of violent action, rather than relinquish them and we must make a resolute effort to push on our non-violent fight. It may be interesting to note in this connection that violence has been completely by its absence in provinces where Bargarhans has been as in Bengal—Calcutta, Bombay and Bihar. It would be essential to suspend the movement, because of an actual outbreak of violent crime, when it is almost certain that the movement is the only remedy to stop the crime.

And how can the people prove faith in their leaders who are being removed from their seats from day to day? The removal of a Minister in a Government House or a Minister as even added stimulus to the people to follow as their footsteps. Bihar is divided of almost all of its leaders, but the result has been the opening of many more self centres. Real effective non-violence will not do, for it cannot do.

M. D.

How to Manufacture Salt

Rock-Salt may be manufactured either from seawater or subsoil salt. If you use subsoil salt, put in a small quantity of water so as to dissolve all salts thereon. Gradually it has now become a concentrated solution of salt brine. The process, therefore, is the same as that for seawater.

Utensils—The following utensils may be used for preparing salt that crystallised fast, being better than the one following it

1. Kettle, Chigra or glass-ware,
2. Earthenware which has been kept in oil for sometime and dried,
3. Miscellaneous work or without work.
4. Surface of clean flat pan, when the salt is to be manufactured by heating over fire. Use as shallow vessel as possible, such as plate or dish. The use of copper, brass, iron, glass and aluminium vessels is undesirable.

Papers

Potential—Allow the maximum to stand for about 15 or 20 minutes, so that dirt and all suspended matter settles down. Then gently filter the transparent liquid through a filter-paper or a piece of clean white muslin. This will give you white salt.

Evaporation—The liquid when prepared will give salt which can be easily recovered. It will be less than that used entirely as the material. The evaporation may be done either by heating or by other heat or by simply allowing it to stand in a hot place, such as by the side of an oven or hearth, which smoking. In the latter case remove the crystals as they begin to form. Some evaporation will give you crystalline salt, boiling will give you a powder. It is necessary a little purity through the cost of living is always less than the amount of duty paid on salt.

In either case do not evaporate the water completely, but draw away a small portion of the solution, when most of it has evaporated. This will remove impurities and other salts which are found in sea-water.

If you evaporate by a piece of flannel a small crystal of salt in the impurities by solar evaporation you will get better crystals.

In heating, it is desirable you shake the liquid now and then to hasten evaporation.

Refinement—If you want salt which is very fine and which will not stick to wet surfaces, follow one of the following processes.

(1) Re-dissolve the above salt in a very good quantity of pure water and let it evaporate off slowly. Remove the crystals as they are formed, and store off the last portion of the liquid.

(2) Add first a pinch washing soda (sodium carbonate) to 40 parts of sea water, stir it well, and allow it to stand for about an hour, until you see a precipitate on the bottom. Remove the solution or solution vessel so that the precipitate is not disturbed. Then evaporate the solution at desired.

Manoharilal Shrivastava
K. G. Mathuram

Salt-Preparation v. Self-Indulgence

The fourth edition is now ready. In this edition there have been added two more articles and the price is of better quality. Price Rs. 1. Postage and postage Rs. 25.

Copies can also be had from our District Office at Province Street, Bombay. Manager, Young India

A Protest from America

Under the Chairmanship of Mr. Roger Baldwin a meeting was held in New York at which Mr. C. F. Anderson spoke in the name of The Political Prisoners and Society on behalf of the political prisoners in India, with special reference to the Mahatma Ghandi. The following resolution was passed unanimously.

This meeting of American citizens, assembled at the Hotel Woburn, New York City, on December 1, 1935, extends sympathy and support to those in India struggling for the rights to advance without interference political and economic reforms of whatever character. At this present time of stress in India, orderly progress of advance, which can only be secured by the free exercise of the rights of political agitation, are more necessary than ever.

We register our protest against the discriminatory policy of repression now being followed by officials in India, we recommend the immediate dismissal of the individuals in the Mahatma case, the release of all other persons arrested and held without trial solely on charges of political agitation and non-violent acts of resistance. We protest also against the refusal of passports to Indians who desire to return to their country at this time.

We appeal to the Indian Government to curtail the acts of officials in India directed against freedom of political self-expression. We urge friends of civil liberty to send to members of the British Government their protests in order to help establish in India those civil rights freely exercised by Englishmen in their own home land.

We make this protest in American citizens concerned with the status of civil liberty throughout the world, and appeal to our own country as a counterbalance to any suppression of freedom of speech, press and assembly as which entirely opposes free.

Lady's Memorial Fund

MEMBERSHIP RECORDS AT THE END OF 1935

Previously published on p. 122 Rs. 14,220-11-4

From Veda Park, Anjuna School

George Dhillon B. Dhillon	Veda Park	5-4-0
Bhambhoo Nathoo I. Mohanlal Khanna		
Mrs. G. S. S. Chhabra, 502 Persimmon,		
1-4-4, Chhabra, 2-4-4	Kashish	
Narain, 2-4-4, Raju Singh, 2-4-4, Mridul		
Haraj, 2-4-4, Indulal Khanna, 2-4-4,		
Kashish Joon, 2-4-4, Mridul Singh,		
2-4-4, Chhabra, 2-4-4, Mrs. Man,		
2-4-4, Narain, 2-4-4, Persimmon,		
2-4-4		

V. K. Agar	Ignora	5-11-0
Shambhoo Prasad	Singh	1-4-0
Magnolia Vardhman	Madras	10-0-0
Magnolia Prasad	Toronto	10-0-0
From Kashi Prasad Mehta		10-0-0
A. Vardhman	Almsted	10-0-0
Vardhman Prasad Thakur Veda		1-0-0
Dhillon, Haraj	Tyran	1-0-0
Almsted, Persimmon		1-0-0

Dr. Man. Vardhman, Kashi's Sister, George		
Dhillon, Veda	Kashish	10-0-0
Kashish, Veda	Kashish	10-0-0
From Shambhoo Prasad and Shambhoo Prasad		
Kashish, Vardhman	Kashish	1-0-0

Total Rs. 14,220-11-4

Young India

The Black Regions

The past week has not been one of peacefulness. It has seen the disturbances in Calcutta and Ranchi. And now comes the sad news from Chittagong. It shows that in spite of the strong demonstration of non violence all over the country, there is still violence in the air and cities are the theatre of it. Calcutta and Ranchi can be distinguished from Chittagong. The last two regions have been most emblematic of the movement. Chittagong seems to be a deliberate place. Whoever they were, they are most respectable and interfere with the growth of the movement which is otherwise shaping itself successfully well and gaining fresh momentum from day to day. I can only appeal to those who believe in violence not to disturb the free flow of the universal demonstration. Whether they believe or not, this movement will go on. Violence is bound to impede the progress towards independence. I am unable to demonstrate how it will impede. Those who survive the struggle will know how.

Meanwhile Satyagrahis must continue their activity with undisturbed vigour. We must deal with the double edged violence ranged against us. For the popular violence is in itself an obstruction in our path to the Government violence. Indeed I can comfort the Government violence more successfully than the popular. For one thing, in considering the latter, I should not have the same support as in the former. Then again as matters in the latter being so intractable as that of the Satyagrahis, the method to be employed has to be somewhat different from that employed as applied to the Government violence.

I hope that as in Ranchi, as in Calcutta and Chittagong, there were Satyagrahis attempting to check such violence. I have seen Duttaranga Ghose who is said to have known nothing of Satyagraha and being an advice but merely give in answer to Duttaranga's order, received a head beating wound. Mingling Revolution, 18 years old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Then old women men, including Jaisankar, mother's father's uncle Jaisankar's mother gave an unusual pay. It is the story in India that would bring colour. The law of violence is violence throughout the world. To be effective it demands the exercise of the bravest and the most aptitude. And Jaisankar is of the bravest and the aptest. I therefore could not help writing when I heard of Jaisankar's wound that a wound in the thigh was better than prison and wound in the head better still.

What therefore I tender my sympathy to the parents of the two lower limbs who lost their lives, my second desire is to congratulate them for the splendid sacrifice of their sons, if they would accept my congratulations. A woman's death is never a matter for sorrow, still less that of a Satyagrahi martyr. One of the lessons that a nation passing for freedom needs to learn is to shed several fears, fear of losing life, wealth, position, fear of unemployment, of bodily injury and bodily death.

Arrests from all over India tell the same tale of growing barbarism. The latest ones published elsewhere make unflattering reading.

One thing we must get rid of quickly. Lawless physical violence must be stopped even if it is to be through forcing the Government to use its gun. And this can be done speedily.

I give only one set of several examples of violence enacted by the police at Vinayagar.

Statement of Anandabhai Vyas, a student of Dabholkar's, Maharashtra Museum, Winchester No 1011.

"I with a number of my companions got down from the 6-11 evening and with bags of salt at the Vinayagar railway station, when from 5 to 10 policemen surrounded us. To save the salt from being seized I sat down with the bag of salt on the ground, sleeping in it with all my might.

"All efforts of the police to make me get up having failed, one of them thrust apart my legs and exposed my private parts with his hands as up in contempt as to get up. But the weight of my body and the push and the pull of the surrounding police disengaged the parts and it fell down. I was then pulled up again. But I lost double and held the salt bag tight under my exposed arms. A policeman therefore strengthened my back by placing it with his feet which caused me extreme pain. These two policemen gave a violent jerk, seized my legs as they stood and loosened my arms and wrenched the bag from me. I was then let go, one officer taking my name and number."

Whether these facts are that these accounts have stopped for the time being. But there is no knowing that they have stopped for ever and there certainly is not the slightest ground for supposing that they will not occur in other parts of Gujarat or at other provinces. In Ranchi the things are growing from bad to worse. A bullet wound in my leg better than three barbarous, unnecessary, unprovoked assaults. The police of a nation must be held accountable. It can only be checked to violence or to general violence, never as the danger being done now. It is a possibility even of the salt laws to use them against evil doers. The policemen were charged to deal (even then unjustly as I hold) with unrepentant leaders of all lawlessness, never to deal with masses of men, specially helping them. If the Government do not stop this brutal violence of the body, they will find the Satyagrahis presently compelling them to use the gun against them. I do not want that to happen. But if the Government will have it, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in giving them the opportunity. They must be physically interfered with the hands of civil workers manufacturing or using my salt, they may smelt every man, woman and child if they wish. If they will neither arrest, nor declare salt free, they will find people readying to be shot rather than be captured.

It is true that the barbarous interference with the body and the unprovoked assaults are a heritage of the past. The Government has by its last approval given it a currency which it never had before.

As I am writing these notes my voluntary have brought me salt and to have been poisoned. Not only do the authorities insistently demand salt and salt pure

after they can add to poison the masses of self-motivated. If the report is true, the Machine of the regime becomes Machine still. And all this against a people who without having methodically are working to gain freedom through self-sufficing!

Kanab, 21-4-36

M. K. G.

Mass Action

A friend having seen the wonderful manifestation of mass action sends the following extracts from an article by Sir Martin Conway in *Commonwealth and Freedom*:

"What any generation can accomplish in truth and growth is little compared with what has been accomplished but then by the generations that have gone before. This is evident enough in the case of material possessions and the great means of the world's art, but it is still more true for the world's ideas. It is those that are the vital parents of all its belongings, and for the preservation of these it has, not individuals, however great, but crowds to thank. For let me declare again that it is not crowds that should thank it as they that inspire them and they that transmit them. An individual may invent an ideal, but when he can set it incorporated in a crowd it is hence of effect, and dies with him. That against the crowd as we may be its resistance, its pride, its selfishness, its lack of measure and all the other characteristics of which we are only too easily aware, it yet remains true that upon crowds our spiritual life depends, that from them we draw our inspiration, and to them we owe those flames of love and justice and glory which make the life of each individual the splendid opportunity that it is.

"A crowd that has never come physically together grows greatly in vigor if it can be so while it even is just scattered. If it can be seen it will bring to bear an influence that observations which every unobserved crowd possesses. If it can see itself it will grow fast. Hence the great political demonstrations which are sometimes organized—the huge assemblies for justice, at the Franco-Lusitan, at the women's meetings in Hyde Park. The people who attend them only for the mere past have that speaking is going forward at certain centres. Many of them hear nothing, but that makes no difference, they are one nation, or rather they are the crowd, and they are very liable to catch its enthusiasm and become a part of that greater body of which these present are a representative portion.

"An even more noteworthy application of the principle of self-motivation is the organization of pickets. The longer they can be made the more useful they are, and the more they attract and inspire upon the strikers. Nothing would more likely to convert an opponent into an advocate of female suffrage than to see a number of women marching in orderly sequence along the street, even if they carry flaming scarves and banners and distribute leaflets as they go. But political arguments have the value of such effect, and are willing to spend a considerable fraction of their resources upon them. A remarkable instance of this crude method of propaganda was the presentation of 'business men' which marched along 5th Avenue, New York to show themselves as a crowd opposed

to the election of Mr. Bryan to the Presidency of the United States, and to the idea of the opposition as represented in his person. He was made very specific. The 'business men' just marched along in colored suits and showed their arms for what it was worth. The effect produced upon public opinion was considerable. If it did not defeat the candidate, it contributed to his defeat and that not because of the individual weight and wisdom of this and the other person marching along but because of the crowd of them, all united by a common motive of hostility to what they regarded as a violation and dishonouring business theory. An English movement dates its success from the day when it can fill the Albert Hall with a cheering throng and it is no dream that that one successful, victorious Albert Hall gathering is worth more for purposes of propaganda than a mass of a similar gathering in unimportant halls and churches."

The use at the present moment of this article comes to the help of your age in answering the progress of non-violence. An idea whether good or bad can be said to have gained ground only when it strikes the imagination of masses of men. Whatever minds do is not necessarily always good. But it is true to say as some have said, that non-violence is necessarily rooted in individuality. On the contrary the test of the sincerity of one's belief in non-violence lies in the measure of its acceptance by masses of men. If non-violence could not effect masses of mankind, it is a waste of effort for individuals to cultivate it. I feel it to be the greatest gift of God, and all God's gifts are the common heritage of His creation and not a monopoly of chosen souls or men. They may operate in non-violence, they may lead to its wonderful effects, but if their discovery and their claims are secret they must be adaptable by masses. If truth be not a monopoly of the few why should non-violence, its counterpart, be otherwise? My earnest study of the scriptures of the world has led me to the belief that all religion, mysticism and every moral testimony in favour of non-violence being produced by all not merely singly but collectively as well. In all humanity I have often felt that having no wish to good and loving by means a detached mind, I gave a more interpretation of the Hindu, Christian, Islamic or other scriptures. For this humble claim I anticipate the forgiveness of Socrates, Christ and Mohammed.

M. K. G.

Necessity of Fidelity in Account Keeping

Single people are in fine faith giving to their cups, silver and paper notes into the hands of volunteers who will take or otherwise collect money. The conventional volunteers should make collections or will not at any price. Accounts should be accurately kept and frequently published. Books should be quickly scanned by visitors. It will be well if student use of proved honesty were to contribute themselves to the cause of self and other funds and work in full cooperation with Congress volunteers. Active workers are being quickly picked up and it may be difficult before long for local organizers there to hold funds and keep proper accounts. As it is, the public have everywhere taken over the financing of the movement. Let it be done responsibly and independently.

M. K. G.

Liquor Picketing

A *Patriot* correspondent writes as follows :

"As you have a very wide experience of this world, I have no pretence to point you out any path for stopping the devil liquor trade, which is the sole monopoly of a few Feroze of Gujarat. You will hardly success even if I put up a few possible suggestions. I am myself a Feroze and I sincerely wish that this infernal trade should be stopped and it could be only done by making the public vigilant. If there is negligible profit in liquor trade, the Feroze will have it at once and you are glad to all your undertakings. Can you find out any means and ways of making this profit of liquor shops negligible? It is a fact that these shopkeepers make a good profit by *dal* (salt) sale (*dal* adulteration), and keep the staff of the House Days well in hand by paying them these dues."

"The only suggestion, I can think of for stopping this middle man's profit, is to hand over Government to first introduce the 'Deshi System', as it stood used in India and British States. If once the said *Deshi System* is adopted then cannot by any short sale and adulteration, and then the shopkeepers' profit would be negligible and they would gradually leave this trade of their own accord. The House staff would be reduced by one half, then cannot be high distribution and then the consumption of liquor would be less."

"The second point is, that the liquor was distilled at Nashik or quite near for better consumption. They should open good hotels and ban *band* it and then the liquor becomes cheap, *band* and it will be for consumption, and is harmful. They should distil house of one million strength (say 50° or 45°) and bottle it at Nashik and then distribute it far side. There are the main points, your suggestions can legitimately light the in the Legislative Council & there are the sole means of gradually introducing prohibition."

"The third point I have to suggest is that it is rather difficult to introduce general prohibition of liquor shops. Why not open single houses or small shops in every big town and a few big villages and show such pictures to the public, pointing out the harm and disadvantages of liquor? By making such pictures, the ignorant people will be gradually taught to leave drinking. Such temperance movements will have better effects. Government should stop such stores and this will lead to temperance."

"Along with temperance you will make a good profit to make Government introduce the *Deshi System* all over India, and this is first step to temperance."

"I sincerely wish you success in all your legitimate rights with Government and chiefly the cause of temperance."

This is a curious letter. It is a frank admission that if the Feroze can be persuaded to give up the drink traffic, the solution of the drink problem, at least up to Bombay if not throughout India, becomes simple. But the remedy suggested by the correspondent will not achieve the purpose. No matter what is done the traffic will be the world over bound as bound fast. The only way remedy is thorough prohibition. Even so drinking cannot be regulated even

by prohibition as every drink traffic can be regulated even by prohibition.

There is an acute danger of violence in *quintessence*. Hence my appeal to the owners of India to take charge of it. It may be observed that well about their feet and debated the other waters are not to follow.

And so in the Feroze liquor dealers, surely it is not beyond the capacity of Feroze philanthropists to take them in hand and find for them a suitable employment. Feroze leaders can create an atmosphere against the traffic and then make picketing easy. Any way I should be surprised if during this wave of self-purification the traffic is not swept away. It needs but a little sustained effort on the part of the nation. In six months of abstinence imposed by the soberest population, thanks to the great picketing done by the Lohar or Daco, the traffic has fallen to 10 p. r. Though I have not accurate figures as yet, the traffic in the area covered by Kitchan's territory has also fallen considerably. And I know that in half these places picketing has been absolutely successful. Thousands in fact are said to have voluntarily given up drinking for ever.

The mission of Kitchan Feroze consists out of two other Feroze who are working in the same field. These other known as *Deval* Feroze or *Deval* or *Deval* and who has now gone to jail under the *band* but has been for years working in the village where I am writing these notes. It was partly on his tongue that I decided to shift from *band* to *band*. The other is *Deval* Feroze, a non-cooperating graduate. He was picked up by the police in Gujarat, because he was respected and loved by the people. I read and realize the fact that daughters of the G. O. M. who have been for years unsuccessfully serving the cause with a single-mindedness worthy of their fatherland grandfather. I can make several other Feroze who are also ardently helping the cause, I have therefore every hope that the Feroze liquor dealers will themselves and meet the appeal of their sisters. The liquor traffic like the salt tax is doomed!

M. K. G.

Cake Haulage

So, Mr. Feroze's writes from Bombay

"I tell I want access to see the story of volunteer *Deval* who asked to see to have got access to your introduction regarding our conduct when the police seize our salt. We started our salt campaign here on the 15th, and every day batches of 10 volunteers ask for 14 hours where they are released by the local police."

"On the first day in the afternoon about 60 candidates with their officers suddenly seized the salt and demanded the delivery of the salt and salt. The volunteers along in the morning ran desperately and it could only be finally reached from them after fully 30 minutes of resistance. Volunteer *Deval* caught hold of the rag of the burning gas and clung to it desperately. The result was that his right hand was completely burnt and it will be many weeks before he is able to recover the use of his fingers. Almost all other volunteers were injured, but the volunteer's conduct deserves mention and I mean to put his name with pride."

Young man like *Deval* will be the nucleus of Swami.

M. K. G.

Weekly War News The U. P.

Farukhabad: Thaler Group's Shop was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 9 of the Salt Act, and 1½ years' rigorous imprisonment under Section 117 of I. P. C.

Several Government has been sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment.

Meerut: Sgt. Jagdeep Singh has been sentenced to transportation with the violence of Salt Act. In Meerut Sgt. Sushant Thakur Singh, Alagpur Singh, Gop. Singh and Chander Singh were arrested. Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh, Mahabub Singh and a volunteer have been sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment at Fugliat.

Kanpur: Sgt. Shashi Singh, Dushar Singh, Doshi Kishan Singh and Kishan Singh have been sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 9 of the Salt Act. Another 13 volunteers have been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each. The President of the District Congress Committee has been sentenced under 124A to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, in default further imprisonment for 6 months.

Sgt. Bhagat Singh of the Kanti Vidyapeeth, Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh of the Chhatrapati Shivaji and Sgt. Anand Singh were arrested at Patna, Ban Bihar district, in connection with the Salt Act.

Banars: Sgt. Ramnath Singh, President of Chhatrapati Shivaji Congress Committee and Sgt. Chander Singh have been sentenced under Section 9 of the Salt Act and 117 of I. P. C. S. N. Singh, S. N. Singh, S. N. Singh and Sgt. Vidyapati Singh and Sgt. Vidyapati Singh are being tried under the same section.

Meerut: Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh and Bhambhoo Singh have been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine and in default further imprisonment for 1½ months.

Sgt. Ramnath Singh and Kishan Singh were arrested at Patna for breaking the salt law.

Bengal

Rajshahi: Sgt. Anand Singh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress, Prithvi Singh, and M. L. C., Prithvi Singh, Mahabub Singh and Tishan Singh were arrested under Section 151 of I. P. C.

Sgt. Anand Singh, Doshi, Dr. Bhambhoo Singh and Sgt. Mahabub Singh, Secretary of the I. P. C. C. were arrested at Dacca.

Sgt. Jagdeep Singh, President of the District Congress Committee was arrested for selling restricted salt.

Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh, Prithvi Singh and Bhambhoo Singh, Chhatrapati Singh were arrested without warrant under Section 121 of I. P. C.

Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh, Chhatrapati Singh and Anand Singh, Mahabub Singh and Tipper volunteers were arrested.

Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh was sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment for manufacturing salt at Mahabub.

Sgt. Chhatrapati Singh has been sentenced to 1½ years' rigorous imprisonment.

Two students, including Sgt. Chhatrapati Singh and Sgt. Bhambhoo Singh were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment for selling.

Bombay

Pune: Sgt. Anand Singh, M. L. C., was arrested at Pune. Sgt. Singh was arrested at Pune. Sgt. Singh was arrested at Pune.

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Maharashtra

Pune: Sgt. Anand Singh, M. L. C., was arrested at Pune. Sgt. Singh was arrested at Pune. Sgt. Singh was arrested at Pune.

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Karnatak

Mysore: Dr. Anand Singh, M. L. C., was arrested at Mysore. Dr. Singh was arrested at Mysore. Dr. Singh was arrested at Mysore.

Sgt. Anand Singh, M. L. C., was arrested at Mysore. Sgt. Singh was arrested at Mysore. Sgt. Singh was arrested at Mysore.

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Sgt. Walter Sharma was sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment with. Sgt. Bhushil J. Vyas was sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment, and Dr. Dattabhai J. Lalwani was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment.

Uttar: Sgt. Bhamburath Das and Sgt. Jeyaraj Rajagop Mohan have been sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine.

Madhya: Sgt. Prakashram and Sgt. Nageshwarrao were sentenced to Rs. 500 fine. On their declining to pay the fine their order was suspended and confirmed.

Punjab

Perozepur: Sharma prominent leaders, including Sgt. Jeyaraj, Spel. Ash Sahai, Bhagwan Natarani and Lala Dattabhai, have been sentenced. Lala Ram Sharma Das and Lala Sagarlal have been sentenced to three years' and one year's rigorous imprisonment respectively under 124 A. Sgt. Lalwani has also been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under the same section. Lala Kashiram Ghadi, President of Haridwar Congress Committee has been asked to furnish a bond of Rs. 1000. SR. Member of Dera Ghazi Khan has also been definitely asked.

Dr. Pannoo, Secretary of P. P. C. C. has been sentenced under 124 A.

Delhi: Sgt. Jeyaraj Ghadia, Lala Shantabhai and Dattabhai have been sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment under Section 4 of the Salt Act, and another 50 volunteers have been sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment each.

Gujarat

Surat: Dr. Gita, President of Chandi Yabhai Congress Committee, has been sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment. Sgt. Kalyan Mohandas Chitambar Marathe have been sentenced under Section 117 I. P. C. to one year's rigorous imprisonment each. Sgt. Ramchandra Modi was arrested at 3 A. M. on the 13rd inst. under Section 47.

Bharuch: Sgt. Chandrahal Nathaling Parvati and Sgt. Theodor Daparam Thakkar have been sentenced to 3 months' and 7½ months' rigorous imprisonment respectively, for selling contraband salt. Sgt. Chandraha Dapudha, Chandra Motabhai, Madhwaraj Akhoyang, Madhobhai Motabhai and Dhanubhai Jagannath have been sentenced to various terms ranging from 3 to 7½ months' rigorous imprisonment. Sgt. Laxman Hattang Varna has been sentenced to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 127 I. P. C. and 47 Salt Act.

Kharod: Sgt. Kishor Kumbhar has been sentenced to 1½ years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 and is at liberty further imprisonment for 3 months. The houses of Sgt. Manabhai, Balabhai and Bhagwan Das, who have been sentenced last week, were raided in order to reduce their unpaid open dues. They returned empty handed from the houses of the first two, while in the last case they broke open the doors and took away vessels etc.

Ahmedabad: Sgt. Jeyaraj Ghadi and Dr. Khatil have been sentenced to 3 months' and 3 months' rigorous imprisonment respectively at Dhanubhai.

Gadhwa: Sgt. Vallabha Modi was arrested for selling contraband salt at Gadhwa on Monday. The boys charged a hotel.

How to do the Fighting

1. At least ten women are required for picketing a house or foreign cloth shop. They must dress in Indian dress among themselves.

2. They should at first go in a deputation to the dealer and appeal to him to desist from carrying on the traffic and present him with Indian selling both facts and figures regarding drisk or foreign cloth in the town may be. Decision to say the dealer should be in the language understood by the dealer.

3. If the dealer refuses-to suspend traffic, the volunteers should guard the shop leaving the passage free and make a personal appeal to the available passers-by.

4. The volunteers should carry banners or light boards bearing warnings to hold buyers against buying foreign cloth or selling in foreign drisk, at the same way on.

5. Volunteers should be as far as possible in uniform.

6. Volunteers should at frequent intervals sing suitable songs bearing on the subject.

7. Volunteers should prevent occupation of water-lanes by men.

8. On no account should vulgar, abuse, threat or threatening language be used.

9. The appeal must always be to the head and the heart, never to fear of loss.

10. Men should in an indirect way participate in the place of picketing, for block the traffic, but they should carry no propaganda generally through the area except foreign cloth and drisk. They should help and organize presentation of women to police through the area carrying the message of temperance and chastity and the necessity of boycott of drisk and foreign cloth.

11. There should be at the back of these picketing units a network of organization for spreading the message of the field and the drisk and drisk and new Indian and new lines of propaganda.

12. There should be no absolutely accurate and systematic account of all receipts and expenditures. This should be practically avoided. This again should be done by men under the supervision of women. The whole scheme presupposes at the part of men a great respect for women and sincere desire for their good.

M. K. G.

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Our Mills and Foreign Cloth Boycott

Foreign cloth boycott is coming, if we will do our duty and be attentive to nationalistic purposes and the conditions of success. I need not at present outline reasons for the proposition set forth below. They have been often argued in these columns. I am laying the figures prepared for reproduction. Not for the present I give my conclusions for those who are interested in them. They are arrived at diligently and with the consideration of every factor and every argument for and against.

1. It is imperative for the indigenous mills to cope with the deficiency to be created by a complete boycott within the time we expect it to come to fruition.

2. All the mills situated in India are not Swadeshi, most of them are as foreign as the foreign Government-owned ones as they drain the wealth of the country away from it. They are class producers for foreign as well as domestic use.

3. The majority of Swadeshi mills will not work for the national benefit only as now professionally.

4. Even when they will, they can be crushed by the Government in a variety of ways.

5. The majority will for want the temptation to imitate the general fashionable dress.

6. Many mills are foreign-made for weaving, especially for looms.

7. We can only save them by not creating opportunities to replace the cloth boycotted and by getting them upon their own resources and income.

8. The last we can only do if we can only replace the cloth boycotted through cloth not manufactured in our mills. This can only be Khadi.

9. An unlimited quantity of Khadi can be manufactured without the slightest difficulty made of our wealth of the spirit of Khadi and the will to manufacture it can be drilled.

10. Sufficient means are to be found all over India. The only problem remains is that of replacing.

11. Spinning and the associated processes can be taught hands of one week to those who have the will and the industry.

12. Lohas problems more than enough crying for all her requirements.

13. Therefore all those who work for boycott of foreign cloth should concentrate on Khadi production through spinning. The time not waste beyond of Swadeshi mill cloth but it means an intelligent recognition of the fact the mills do not and may affect the selling their cloth. The boycott movement will help them by removing foreign cloth which competes with them and enables them to if that suppressed the spinning wheel. To do more for the mills than prevent imports of foreign cloth will be to harm Khadi.

Mill owners say, if they will, help boycott through Khadi by substituting the lot of those mills which are owned, controlled and managed by Indians, which use no foreign yarn at all in weaving and which will export manufactured cloth corresponding to Khadi, will not use the name Khadi or the wheel as their labels and will not inflate prices.

I am convinced that those who merely carry on boycott propaganda without basing on boycotters contributing towards Khadi production by themselves

spinning or producing spinning, will have little tendency of Swadeshi except the boycott movement if they do not actually harm it. Swadeshi must not come away from their path, even though for the moment they are unable to satisfy the demand for Khadi. Let them hope that that very moment is the one most propitious for Khadi production. Necessarily is the mother of invention. It knows no law, but it creates new laws. They need not worry if people refuse to give up foreign cloth if they are also called upon to spin. That reaction will only push forward the boycott movement. It is so simply inevitable. Just as we need Kewari and to punish Englishmen but because we cannot live without it so also we need boycott of foreign cloth and to punish Englishmen but to keep work and therefore find through the wheel to the spinning wheel.

M. K. G.

Satyagraha in Bihar

The First Stage

As soon as the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. passed a resolution endorsing Mahatma Gandhi in view Satyagraha, preparations were commenced in most of the Districts of Bihar, and Government, too, on its side started picking up workers here and there. Babu Kameswarprasad Sinha, an M. L. A. and Krishnadasa Sahay an M. L. C. were named as under Sec. 124 of P. C. and on their refusal to furnish security were given one year's simple imprisonment each at Faizpur High. Similarly Babu Mahendralal Jaiswal, a prominent member of Jharkh in the District of Ranchi, with his co-workers and colleagues Babu Mahilal Bhadracharya Das Gupta and several others were also given under Section 124 of P. C. The successors of Babu Kameswarprasad Sinha and Krishnadasa Sahay in the office of President and Secretary of the Hindustani District Congress Committee, Babu Bhanuprasada and Subodha Sinha are undergoing trial under Sec. 124 of P. C. In Godhula District Bhawanji Dasgupta, Secretary of South Bihar has been charged as Congress Satyagrahi since his return from South Africa in December last and had been elected President of the District Congress Committee. He was prosecuted under Sec. 124 of P. C. and sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment. Babu Mahendralal Sinha was similarly taken under Sec. 124 of P. C.

As soon as Mahatma's word was received, two districts started with demonstrations of the mill here.

SAHARANPUR—In Saharapur, too, Babu, Das Gupta and Bhagpur were selected for the honour and acted as presidents of the first and second meetings on the 10th, 15th and 16th April respectively. Satyagrahi started from Chapra for their respective areas of operation. The three leaders were led by Sri. Gita Tripathy, Chandrajit Sinha, and Prasad Misra respectively, all three being members of the District Satyagraha Committee. As soon as Satyagrahi was started Babu Kameswarprasad Sinha an M. L. A., President of the District Congress Committee, was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment under Sec. 117 of P. C. Of the Satyagrahi Babu Babu Sinha, the leader of the first batch at Saharapur was arrested and given six months and so was his successor who is mentioned. Later Sri. Gita Tripathy was arrested. Prasad Misra Sinha has also been arrested and given six months. Police have taken

of volunteers have gone and been allowed to pass. The police consider these some volunteers, sometimes after showing affidavits and giving them some more details. A large police force is concentrated with all necessary preparation for a steady change and checking—watching a set of cars and sometimes one that the crowd that sometimes is always under our control, and while there is great excitement among the citizens and great sympathy with the Sahayogas, they are always accessible to questions and the Police have not had any reason to worry here. The manifestation of talk by volunteers who paid the police fees and who are already in the spot—in going on to the presence of the police and on certain have yet been made. People are showing sympathy for officers' money and plans for the volunteers' money and by sometimes the talk of heavy price. Many officers have started making talk in that house. The amount on the volunteers has increased as 'removal' the sympathy of the Mahatmas who appeared to be generally satisfied by the movement. While I am writing these notes, one that the bank which has paid money has been cancelled again but allowed to go after the amount.

14th April 1949

According to my plan which has been followed for the last three days the first batch of five volunteers went out at the morning and when they were going along the road they were surrounded by a body of officers under the command of a European officer. Three of them were immediately beaten by the European officer and thrown into the door from where they were released by not finished because. The remaining two moved on and were joined by three others and were caught with their bags. When they approached the Sahayogas, three of them were obstructed by police constables who forcibly took away the bags from them and released one of them who had to be released. The others moved on and passed the police line. The second batch of five volunteers was sent out again at noon. They were again obstructed and beaten with batons and bullets. They all received injuries but managed to go along. After they had passed the officers they were hit along and the European officer with the officers charged the crowd that was standing along the road and in the windows of houses and open spaces by the side of the road. People were charged and beaten very in the middle. While she was going on other people who were going along on the road were also beaten and arrested. Two of them were taken to their car in the middle of the road and released to lodge. They were pulled and beaten and the houses of various amounted them and occupied their bags under their lower backs, but they continued crying. The crowd then moved away. A man with a camera was taking a snapshot when the European officer fell upon him and resisted it and a fall on the ground and was pulled up by another man who threw it on the roof of an adjoining house.

In the evening the third batch of five volunteers went out again. It was charged and the dog was caught to be released away. In the middle of this was hit one person and the volunteers started to with a portion of it. This happened when the crowd under some European officers were posted. Professor Krishna,

Abdul Bari, Dargahat, Mirza and D. Mohd. Hanif, Editor of Samajik and I proceeded to the scene at 4.30. We stopped them at and saw the European officers charging and beating, the crowd with batons followed by the police who were fresh near their lines. The crowd was shouting either in sympathy or open spaces or along the road keeping the middle absolutely clear for traffic which led to the obstruction of the traffic could easily pass. Among the persons who were then arrested was Master Abdul Bari Mohammed Say. Mohd. who was standing in a crowd with some other fellow friends. When we saw him a danger for misadventure caught on an absolutely harmless crowd we moved in that direction. By that time the whole crowd was charged and the crowd had moved on. I was in front. Prof. Bari, Krishna and Hanif were following me. The two European officers were in, surrounded by batons and quickly overtook us and began to shout, 'get along'. One of them was using his baton or whip on Prof. Bari and finally looked him. The other man was pushing me with his baton and I was told what for whip or baton against me but I did not and was a bit as he was hitting and I did not feel any pain as I had a thick shield on my shoulder. Prof. Bari's papers are not secure and Mr. Say's I secured as papers at all. We walked along at my usual pace and were after a time let alone. The two officers, I understood from Prof. Krishna, returned to the S. P. and reported triumphantly that they had not spared the leaders either. The crowd was absolutely peaceful and there was neither resistance nor assembly on foot. They reached the houses and moved along as if nothing had happened. The police are, of course, now determined upon preventing violence so that they may not be exposed too many times more. There has been no apparent reaction whatever on the part of the people. The temporary non-violence and hatred of the volunteers as also on the crowd is here as it is about on all places of people and their view was indifferent in the beginning as was entirely with us. A professor of the persons in Mr. Hasan Khan has been deeply affected. His wife has whole family have reacted in highest fervor, etc.

16th April 1949

Prasanna Prasad

Small Funded Fund

RECORDED AT THE SAHAYOGA HOUSE

Previously acknowledged on p. 122	By	1,194-44
Shanabha Bhambhani	Shanabha	1-0-0
Chandrabha Bhambhani	Chandrabha	2-0-0
Chandrabha	Chandrabha	10-0-0
Rs. C. B. (late, New York City)		
Through Manager Made Office	Madra	1000
Prof. Mahabha Bhambhani	Kalida	1-0-0
G. N. Jagan	Madra	2-0-0
Somesh Tripathi, Dora	Chandrabha	1-0-0
Ramabha Bhambhani	Kalida	10-0-0
Mahabha Bhambhani	Madra	1-0-0
Through Mahabha Bhambhani		
Madra	Madra	2-0-0
P. K. Das	Assamada	10-0-0
Prof. Mahabha Bhambhani	Kalida	10-0-0
Mahabha Bhambhani	Jalapa	1-0-0

Total Rs. 2,450-00

Boycott through Takli

Dr. Panabai Sthanamaya, having been for years interested in cooperative building and being a Hindu expert in Andhra, may be presumed to know his figure. He makes the calculation that five million shaktis working for five hours daily can open enough yarn to replace the whole of foreign cloth to be boycotted. He thinks that there are already that number of wheels lying in India's houses. But we will take account to repair these wheels and make them work. Now wheels we cannot make fast enough to meet the demand that a spinning atmosphere will create. The wheel will spin, require some capital, be it even as little. When we think of masses of people, even the capital of one rupee per head amounts up to crore. We want to work with as little capital as possible. We want to make spinning to the largest market available as quickly as possible. This can be done only through the takli. If the average output of a wheel be 200 yards per hour, that of the takli will be 500. Therefore to manufacture the amount of yarn that five million wheels will spin, we require three million taklis to work. And if the workers would spin not five but only one hour, we need, scarcely five million taklis to make. Scarcely five million is the fourth the total population of India.

Our isolated workers are hardly ever giddy in their all night course of people working for one hour per day for the nation. But if there be two national convulsions past these in working extraordinarily short one is every hour substitute of India giving one hour per day as the price of deliverance.

So that on it may, let workers take up the takli as their. Let them not think of the steel takli which was invented by Mahadevi Garbi for the city people. If there was an immediate demand for eight crore of steel taklis, the cost would amount to a respectable sum, and the time required to manufacture so many would also be fairly long. We must therefore for once the steel with iron and wood. Takli can be made from spun handloom and broken like at last cost the size of weight of a half man's palm. A pointed sharp hole is the only real absolutely necessary. The point is required to 'twist' a hole. Here are four instructions:

How to make a Takli?

1. Take a broken Bhagpota tin or plate in the line and make out of it a disk the size of a plate. This can be done by gently bending the edges and rounding them on a rough surface.

2. Punch a straight hole in it, make it slightly larger on one side.

3. Take a well-oiled bamboo splinter seven inches in length. Smooth it round with a knife to the thickness of a pencil. Sharpen it from one end so as to taper it to a point the thickness of a building needle. Hold one end from the tapering end, make a little notch to hold the thread.

4. Round the length to make like the side of the disk with larger circumference in the hole so as to leave half an inch at the thick end.

5. Test the takli by twisting it on a flat surface. If it spins like a top it is true. If it does not, you know that either the hole is not straight or is not in the centre of the disk or the tapering of

the splinter is not right. It is easy to detect the error and to correct it.

The highest output of the takli after a week's practice has been found to be 100 yards per hour. And it takes about half an hour to make such a takli.

The takli making is a pleasant pastime. Spinning is a positive recreation. It is the solace of the persecuted heart and a most companion. The wheel stops to rest and may therefore distract your attention. The takli is designed to be very maintenance, and in that way is perhaps a finer representation of the Hindu culture. Try it and you will experience the same joy that many of us do. In any case be or the wife spin side to the wealth of the country and hasten the boycott movement and free India. Working united!

M. K. G.

Foreign Cloth Dealers

I have given my opinion in the press representative on the question of foreign cloth boycott. The movement of the dealers is a symptom of want of faith in the country. Who do they want to see and hear? If they are sure that Swami is coming in the near future? Why will they not count on a considerably real crisis as a greater certainty? All this uncertainty instead of strengthening the Swami's strength, weakens it and the people's mind with doubts. The movement is largely based on faith. There is nothing spiritually wrong with it to make an oath for Swami. It is the hallucination that makes it—a vision of those hundred millions—had brightness and diffidence. Let not the foreign cloth merchants strengthen the hallucination by belittling movement. Let them cut themselves off it and help others in its progress. If they cannot do so, let them not ask I agree but heavily say that they will not stop their foreign cloth trade.

To the weak and the unbelieving I make a simple suggestion. Let them cancel all commercial orders. If Swami is not returned and if they want to revert to their old occupations, no power can prevent them. Let them look up their trading stock values they can sell it outside India and let those who are poor rely upon the Swami Government giving them such compensation as may be necessary. But they should make an inventory of their stock and have it certified by authorized witnesses. The wealthy merchants may not expect any compensation. The loss they may suffer will be paid protest for the one organized against the nation. Lastly, though the loss is a bad suggestion, if they have no faith in the country price, Swami, let them keep their stock and begin selling it when the popular movement has died of weakness or been suppressed by force. God forbid however that the present nation was in a more healthy or that it is capable of suppression under the current repression. I hope therefore that whatever the result of the movement, the foreign cloth dealers will see clearly that the terms suggested by them are binding on the nation and that there is simple protection for them without the terms. Let them be patient enough to live to the nation and under pinning emergency by stopping the sale of foreign cloth of their own motion.

M-K Gandhi.

Official Rowdiness in Udaol

The Secretary, Udaol P. C. C., wrote the following letter to me:

14-4-39 The Working Committee met and decided to start Civil Disobedience in connection with the withdrawal of the Government of Cochinland. Cochinland's Headquarters was requested to lead the campaign, to which the answer was in the form of stating C. D.

The P. C. C. on the same day and accepted the resolution of the Working Committee.

22-4-39 The Cochinland District Congress Committee met and decided, almost unanimously, to join the struggle started by Gandhiji, on the last day of March. Several volunteers were enrolled. A public meeting was held at Cochin to open the campaign and call the volunteers. This was the first meeting of its kind and the spirit and confidence of the Cochinland public was too well-known to us not to make us confident. But help came to us from the stranger quarters. Just when we were going to commence the business of the meeting, the Police appeared on the scene with a Deputy Magistrate and several constables under Sec. 144 G. P. C. on several of us, including Gopalabhai Babu. The scene opened like nothing and soon the volunteers swelled in thousands. Gopalabhai Babu was the first person to display the colour and deliver a speech. It was certainly the act of disobedience, far more than the speech, that suddenly changed the whole atmosphere. Quite unexpectedly we got 17 volunteers to sign the pledge at the end of the meeting. This thanks to the Government, both the public spirit and our defiance watched at the same time.

Several meetings were held after that date and all very successfully. Gopalabhai Babu received a summons to appear on the first of April to show cause why he should not be prosecuted under sec. 144 G. P. C. His assistant Ashokrao Hardeo Das of Saket College to lead the first batch and be the first arrested in his place. But strangely, though Gopalabhai Babu did not appear on April 1st, he was named with a fresh summons to appear on the 11th, instead of being arrested.

7-4-39 The first batch of 25 volunteers started under the leadership of Gopalabhai Babu and they were received with great reception on the way to place Saket. The most striking feature of the movement was the part played by the women of the village who were out of their Purdah in joining the Satyagrahi in their hundreds.

7-4-39. Gopalabhai Babu was arrested under Sec. 144 G. P. C. at the first hearing place, and scores of great volunteers.

Divided news of the 11th of April at Cochin, the response it had evoked all over India and Gandhiji's message and the circular of Poona, (reiterated to start actual Civil Disobedience before the 11th April) made Gopalabhai Babu change his original plan. He had in mind marching all the way to last to the destination in the Belgaum District and starting Civil Disobedience on April 11th. He gave up persistence on the eve of his arrest to start C. D. anywhere on the 11th and. So we met the second batch by train to reach Belgaum on the 11th eve. The first batch also took the train on the 11th night and reached Belgaum next morning.

11-4-39. At 10:30 Ashokrao Hardeo, who had come back after 24 hours of a A. I. C. C. meeting and seeing Gandhiji, went to the Satyagrahi area, where he and was actually unobserved by brought upon with-outh and started operations. Naturally he did this secretly before the Police. He was arrested with the chief local agents.

13-4-39 Both of them were arrested under Sec. 8 of the Salt Act in a matter of 10.

Ashokrao Hardeo Das with 12 picked volunteers reached from Belgaum to their destination before, 12 miles away, the same evening.

13-4-39 No action had they gone out from Belgaum to bring salt-water than Ashokrao Hardeo was arrested with 4 of his followers. The rest the police did not arrest, but tried to prevent them from taking salt-water. The volunteers resolutely refused to open their tin. There were 4 or 5 police men to one Satyagrahi. The latter suffered many injuries before they were overpowered. One old man, a simple village village, would not yield his hand even though an strong police men were fighting with him. They finished his hand and took him. He was thrown on the ground, his hands and feet were trampled under foot so that blood came out. His sufferings were so great and so great that even one police officer took him. Photographs have been taken of the police men.

Our European friend met a volunteer on his way and without any persuasion, or any considerable money attacked him and beat him with a lathi.

14-4-39 The police continued beating and locking the volunteers who tried to bring salt-water. The sufferings of the volunteers show from the eyes of the spectators. The old man, named Chaudhary was again of his past with collected energy and power of endurance. He said that anybody else forced the police to change their tactics. That of having the volunteers and otherwise restraining them, the police were tired by their talk and when they had collected some salt-water locked the salt bags and refused them to the ground. But the volunteers went on peacefully and patiently following salt-water. They walked from the early morning to 10 noon and came from 1 to 2 in the afternoon. The police had no such memory of purpose as in spite of all they did, the volunteers succeeded in bringing salt-water to the camp and manufacturing salt. Continued salt was getting sold at Belgaum on the 14th and.

15-4-39 to 16-4-39 The police then adopted a third class of action. That was to make the area of each volunteer from behind and not allow him to collect salt-water. The volunteers, quite unobserved, went there all 12 noon and again came in their work at 3 p. m. The police could not however go on taking up these people back by hand day after day. So the 4th method was adopted and that was to break the new salt water of volunteers after they had started making salt, and to chase the volunteers in 15th morning.

Meanwhile the people of the village have become impatient to start manufacturing salt themselves. Up till then we had allowed them to collect as volunteers and work with our volunteers. Many such local volunteers had as last been named and arrested. The second boycott the village were observing

Young India

Georda Ray

If what is going on in Gujarat is any indication of what is going on in other parts of India, some Indians gather into non-performance. That may appear to be an exaggerated statement. But it is almost to be feared true. The students of Jallianwala were a class except—It seemed an impossible task to the students and the uneducated ones.

The death by which that is being dealt out in Gujarat is a comprehensive matter and, and, and, if one is not taken, prove utterly demoralising. It may weaken the victims and decidedly weaken the system.

If I have the time I shall summarise the events of the past week for those interested. In any case the reader will find the whole of the evidence in the daily press.

Michael Doss had hoped the belief that after the efforts he made by going there himself and sending lawyer friends, the British forces had retired at Nainpur. But it was not to be. A volunteer was for a few minutes isolated from his company, and then gave the representatives of law and order an opportunity of killing upon that stage and leaving him as his performance had been treated at Nainpur.

That is what Dr. Nandlal Das, a retired Child Medical Officer of Jallianwala who at the age of 25, was entrusted with the spirit of Nainpur, was with his own eyes.

"I brought a party of about 120 Nainpuris, each with a bag of tea. On the 21st of October and from Whistling Camp the morning.

"As I led the party, I was the first to meet the Imperial party consisting of one European officer, two Indian officers and about 4 or 5 police constables. Over and above that there were about 150 more constables watching the entrance of the station.

"I was asked what I had got in the bag under my arm. I replied, 'Two lbs. of condensed milk.' 'Alright, old fellow, you can go,' they said. I said, 'I am leading a party of about 120 Nainpuris, each with a bag of milk tea. So I want to see personally how you deal with them, or whether you allow them to go freely but like other passengers.' He said, 'Alright, you stand apart on one side, and watch. One by one the Nainpuris were made to pass through the mid inspecting party and immediately all the arms or sight of them, including the European officer, caught hold of each man's and searched the bag from the hands of the Nainpuris, handling the man's arms roughly. Almost every Nainpuri was treated in this way. It was a degrading proceeding. I had a very high opinion of Englishmen all throughout my life. This was the first experience of the kind during eleven years.

"When I could bear the treatment no longer and exclaimed, the officer said, 'Speak to the

public, stand about the end, and write on the papers.' And about both, performance went on as before.

Many the collection was, which in Nainpur's interest was not. It was a pity performance for the British officer and his fellow Indians to indulge in the sport of degrading young men of their precious possessions. It was not the first time that the British were not coming away not taking anything. The law had to be respected without any making the law's delay on the part of its administration.

But even this was nothing compared to the scenes enacted in the Nainpur district. I was that the British men and daughters of Nainpur have turned out fairly universally the Indians because of officials who are no longer able to impose their will upon the people. They have hardly struck a graduate and professor of the Gujarat University who had committed no offence, but who had given merely to see what was happening when he heard the beating. In the same district was Dand a few miles supported by a local Thakur and his men armed with long armed rifles without order put out the lights of a meeting and completely left upon their victims. The witnesses consisted of Pandit and Rajput who were fully able to defend themselves. But not a stone was thrown, not a word was uttered. For the sake of discipline they suffered. One man narrowly escaped death. Some one still lived in a hospital. Although they have been treated as having been spared. This was a severely shame of Jallianwala.

5. These were Abandoned. A large number of people had left empty from day to day but no suspected that he secretly attacked the police one of whom they were. The police was of the most powerful as acknowledged by every body. There was not even any demonstration. Only the names of those who visited the were taken down by the police who knew them. The names of the police were in this case in showing the most machinery which still works fairly among the labouring classes.

Have the advantages of law and order done any thing to prevent the tragedy? No they have entirely failed to. They are welcome to the joy of it. Only to the law and order. Let it be called Georda Ray.

The duty before the people is clear. They must answer the Imperial investigation with quiet reflection. If they have the will and the power, freedom is secured. Freedom is a task of reflecting, because in face of violence. What we are all going for is freedom that requires seriously upon itself for the sake of society. Liberty requires reflection upon society so that it may enjoy authentic freedom. This is the Government of individual because it is a Government where else, it is not only to exploit India society.

M. K. Gandhi

P. S. While writing the above I have almost exhausted pictures from Dehlee and Madras. I imagine there is still Abandoned investigation is evidently looks wide or last becoming in.

M. K. G.

Notes

The Speaker's Remonstrance

William Temple's comments have not come as a surprise upon us. It would have been surprising if he had not recognised by his vigorous epigrammatic remarks, especially, by way of the effect of Congressmen and criticised the administration of affairs. I am glad to recognise that the way to save the country is not through the Assembly. The Legislature can be a power in the path of exploitation. Unless we can take our hands off the wheel and refuse to see what is going on it is related to the outside, outside India's independence is a mere illusion in the path of exploitation. His dissent in the Chair was, undoubtedly embarrassing to the Government, but viewing it in this manner he has done us still more so.

Further Frontiers

When I returned to Delhi, India, in the Frontier Programme had offered to send some volunteers to help me. I sent them: students in expectation of their offer but did not send myself at it. How safe perhaps it would have been if they had not actively participated in the movement. Those who are being sent of protest movements being observed, do not take an active part in the struggle are most seriously helping it. Those who wishing to serve take part in it and violence results, as happened at Dacca, are as seriously hindering the movement. That the people in Pakistan want well I have no doubt. They are perhaps more ignorant (if such a thing were possible) than I am in this frontier. But nobody can get freedom today in this land except through non-violence. We cannot get India's freedom through the way of violence, we are within reach of it if we would but keep up non-violence to the end. The way has not through the burning of government cars and taking the lives of administrators of the Government machinery, it has through disciplined sustained self-sufficiency. I deeply regret the occurrence at Dacca. There have been too many ways 'without the means itself being saved.

Necessity of Fulfilment

There is a great deal of talking among us. The politics taken up by Indians that certainly is, but a symptom of that talk. They want to give us foreign cloth today only if they can do without suffering any loss. But politics does not consist of tricks. People are expected the Dacca to face death, like Gandhi in South Africa, to face temporary madness, like the late Christopher Lee and others, and having to face to face poverty and like the widow of Mahatma at Aundha to suffer the death of women and children. Therefore the substance of foreign cloth materials to suffer losses, in my opinion, 'brings mead of real politics.

But the British moderate content that the local Congress Committee has found itself by stop political action certain conditions. If that be so the Congress has to be killed at any cost. If the mind of a Congressman or a Congress representative cannot be asked upon, we shall ultimately lose the Indian Empire. India must be free as India. British of promise to a bare reminder of truth. I have therefore advised the period that if they cannot agree us to the

very of the (1933) (1933), to take the matter to the British.

I understand that, in India, they have accepted to accept perhaps. I have suggested that it should be confined only to 1933-34. It does not matter if politics is impossible for some of the Indian women. Every woman has a right to be a woman. But he cannot live in contact with political propaganda and propaganda of India as a reasonable atmosphere for the future. But perhaps someone it is there must be created in women.

Rashidun Bury Sabha

This body is, as I have a sub-committee, whose sole object is to take the work of the first Congress—India and foreign cloth. It has made a public appeal for funds. I have no doubt that it will receive greater public support than before. The public should know that the members who are in the movement are the G. O. M. a great daughter. The appeal is waiting over that decision and before work with good and satisfaction.

From Overseas

I have had letters from Mexico, the Philippines, South Africa, East Africa and elsewhere advising the same course. I have purposely refused from publishing them, not out of ungratefulness, but because I have had valuable as the words of other people are, what will decide the issue will be our own action and consistent action. If our action is correct the good words of the whole world will be with us if they are not already. Nevertheless I must mention the two following messages as they are from English friends. It is the movement of England that our resources are wrong as I have accepted them from England, some of which I have published in these pages. It gives me pleasure to publish the good words of some English friends.

"Dear Mahatma Gandhi,

We the national members of the Executive of the 'W. C. C.' International are working with intense interest the progress of your campaign in India. In accordance with the principles of the 'W. C. C.' International, we believe in the possibility of establishing cooperation by peaceful means and we regret that you are relying upon the method of non-violence.

We and you are here and sympathise in the methods and difficulties which you will undoubtedly have to face and assure you that we will do our best, by propaganda in whatever circles may be open to us, to assist you in your fight for India and peace."

Yours sincerely,

A. F. H. H. H.

Harold F. H.

Martha H.

Stephen J. H.

H. H. H.

"May the violence which is the cause of the

International League for Peace and Freedom,

Women's Appeal to the Women

The appeal of the women of the Indian people is the Women's Appeal to the Women. The appeal has been prepared by the Women's Union only. For an official appeal such time would have been needed. But it is to be hoped that the action of the Government will be aided by all the other previous with such changes as may be necessary.

An Assistant Magistrate's Lawlessness

The honorary District Congress Committee, Haldwani (U.P.).

On the first three Jathas of Volunteers were being sent to Naini to offer Saranyoga at it was decided to offer one Saranyoga there. In all Jathas consisting of about 70 volunteers have been sent to AGRA. Their leader Mr. J. B. Chandra Prasad of the Free India Society, Wardha was arrested and confined in one room at AGRA. On April 20th it was decided to meet Sub-Commissioner at Haldwani but before the appointed time Haldwani Jath leader Mr. Indu Chandra Choudhary, the Deputy of Mahendra Saranyoga, Aligarh, Karam Chandra Prasad of Youth League, Pilibhut, Karam Chandra Secretary District Congress Committee and Mr. Sri Narain Das were arrested under sections 317, 347 and 148 respectively. At the same time the news spread in the C.B. to unprecedented proportions. Several was observed, a large procession went round the city and all was prepared at a meeting of nearly 5,000 people. Small parties all over started leaving places. Police, though present in sufficient numbers, did not intervene. On April 21st the case against Mahendra Kumar was to be taken up and some of the Congress Volunteers and other people went to witness the trial. There was absolutely no idea of demonstration and none was actually held. This had begun to seem to the only when Mr. J. Chandra, Joint Magistrate, while coming up his cycle crashed over a Congress flag that stood behind which was in the hands of a boy of 10 years. The boy went to the Therothel the person Saranyoga leader who promptly told Mr. J. Chandra and requested him to return the flag as it was possibly held by a boy. The Joint Magistrate showed him the flag but said that it could not be returned. Then all the volunteers collected peacefully before his Court and told the Karmel who was present outside that they would not go back without the flag. They remained outside till 3 o'clock when the Karmel told them that either they should disperse or he would order the police to charge. The volunteers did not move and the Karmel ordered the police to charge, who (it appears) were specially called in with large iron broad blades. They at once began carelessly beating the volunteers, though no magistrate declared the meeting unlawful. For nearly one hour the whole Court compound presented a terrible scene. Nearly 30 Police men were beating 15 volunteers so violently that it was impossible to witness it. Three of the volunteers were holding the Swarajya flag and held it up to the time when the police men broke their wrists and fingers and one of them killed. Only three could the police take away the flag. Three hours the Police cleared the ground and three times the Volunteers came and sat at that very place. Police men were taking the volunteers hold and throwing them away with such force that they fell some ten or twelve paces off. The Karmel himself caught hold of one of the volunteers by hair and pulled it so hard that he fell flat. The police were repeatedly abusing the volunteers. For the third time when they cleared the ground the police formed a circle and did not allow the volunteers to proceed. Three candidates tried to struggle the volunteers and pointed out such as a man on hand that he might come out and be treated. He

and two others who became terrified were carelessly beaten and charged by the Police even after they became conscious. They were promptly removed to the Hospital. One of them had required amputation and two are still unconscious. Five volunteers have got serious lacerations. One has got two lacerations above the head. In spite of this they continued calmly seated and began waving their flag again. After about three hours the Karmel came and told them that the Joint Magistrate was ready to give the flag at 3 o'clock. The volunteers told him that they wanted only their flag back. The Joint Magistrate told them that it was their condition to walk out with the Swarajya flag, so he took a survey. After some consultation he returned a back and the volunteers came back. In a moment a resolution concerning them was passed by a large gathering. One thing was remarkable, that in spite of all the news of the volunteers about the flag and said one word. None of them felt or seemed to fear the police. It is very noticeable that they remained perfectly unharmed under the unrelenting persecution and in spite of physical injuries remained perfectly calm. Nearly all the lawyers of the District Bar and almost all the people witnessed the scene and to every one of them, the Police cruelty appeared enormous. Two of the volunteers are still lying in the Hospital. All the Jathas have been called back from the tour programme and sent Saranyoga. A started at three places in the District.

'Most Unjust and Barbarous'

[A friend presented Gandhi with a copy of *Congress Self-tax and authority for the maintenance of law and the protection of justice* by Gopal (Shree Samarthan & Co, 1938). This book devotes an interesting chapter to the salt tax in India (p. 267) at page 1, which is reproduced below with unimportant omissions. V. G. D.]

There is no man, I think, on the subject of economic salt in relation to the national economy, who has not in language more or less severe, condemned the imposition of a tax on that necessary food and the only source that can be obtained on behalf of those who, when the imposition came, it was not absolute ignorance—all that he has done is to assume of the facts involved.

Let us, having his condemnation, on the necessity of salt for all, for the human organism in its general aspect, take 'the aspect on salt as it comes that which is the most obvious, the most universal, and the most approached to human power' (Hinduism).

First, Europe was the champion of the tax on the second distinction between rich and poor, by pointing out the class of citizens which were the better for their food. He shows our attention to all those vegetable substances which are comparatively rich in protein salts, viz., potatoes, rice, peas, beans, and then from the rough food of the European proletarian, and together with one of our Indian salt-sellers, 'The fact,' he says, 'disproves the opinion of the salt tax. For, the poorer the human being, the more it is forced to consume as a food rich in protein, and the greater is his demand for salt. The salt tax is, in relation to the consumer's wealth, a progressive tax, but in the reverse ratio, the poorer the man, the greater the tax, it can hardly be matched for its effects on'

trifling, Mr. Dutt says, is the source which caused the migration of all his labour into the very poorest, and in fact, the only, export and industries (silk and opium) (1900, p. 1). He gives a historical sketch of the early cotton industry, and also some of the effect on the part of the people against this cruel imposition. Then he tells us also the opposition to it, but added from some commercial is reinforced by traditions such as the following:

An attempt was made to demand payment from the drovers of the washed cotton of Andhra, who were on the wall round the town.

Lopamudra, one of Alexander of Macedon's generals, lived a day upon the salt at Trass, when the salt melted, and only remained, when the tax was abolished.

To meet these mythical stories was, as Schiller remarks, the only means by which the people could manage themselves upon their oppression. They treated the salt tax legislation as the sign of future greatness.

Colonel Lytton (during the second Pitt war) was once nicknamed 'saltwater' (lost politics).

Walter Hume in his charming little booklets (*State and Walter Hume*) claims that the dispute about of France in the last century turned at Versailles during the summer months a surface for delicate parties by covering the road with salt. This brought down upon the monarchy the reaction of the poor people, who were heavily taxed by the use of common salt.

The full extent of the cruelty referred to this paper becomes evident, when we learn the conditions that Governments have to meet in, to prevent an increase of the tax. A friend, who lived for some years in India, where it is one of his terms to me, "I remember as first, along the Malabar coast, that guards are posted at intervals along the coast, and I heard, that they watch to prevent the sea water from being taken by the people to evaporate for a salt supply."

England, which perhaps lived the higher tax, was far from (excepting France during the few years of its revolutionary period) to abrogate the impost, namely in 1815 but in all countries that had tried the poor farmer upon a poor population than in India.

Mr. St. George Tucker's letter to *The Times* of 31st January 1883, which is clearly directed against an increase of the duty, contains the following remarks:

"From statistics, that the wages of unskilled labour in some parts of India do not exceed two pence per day, we shall be able to understand that a labourer cannot afford to pay one day's wage for 1½ cwt of salt for himself, his family and his plough bullocks, if he should possess any millions of acres; common salt which has not been taxed instead of another common salt sold there is, compared by bullocks and millions of acres common salt is one month's work to Charles Bell, instead of good Claret wine. Our duty to the nation of India demands that a higher rate should not be exacted till wages rise."

I contented, however, that it is our duty to abolish the impost altogether and I have my attention to the following reasons:

1. The health and the very existence of every human being depends upon a regular supply of common salt.

2. The author quotes elsewhere in the book a Latin proverb meaning, "Nothing is more wholesome"

1. There is no alternative, but nature, which can make the healthy human life in the element of nature.

If what is most important, we could find a substitute in the human life in the element of nature or other vegetable that make for them in abundance as substitute for common salt. To my mind this is the weakness, the most important reason for opposing any and every impost upon salt. Then that should really force the Government to abrogate the tax, and to meet, that the price of salt is not increased by any private speculation, or by any grasping 'middlemen'. Its supply at the lowest possible cost, and the facility of its distribution should be the standard measure of the administration. The result would be a healthier condition, the saving of natural and social energy, the loss of which is passed through disease and death can be caused by millions of pounds wasted.

3. . . . In a country, where the bulk of the people subsist chiefly if not entirely on vegetable food, the tax on salt presses heavily on the poor.

It is hence the most cruel, the most barbarous tax ever levied, and the one, which provides the refinement of it, as in the hands of the Government—the food of the high-priests who demand 'great money or great life'.

We should never lose sight of the fact, that it is not only the food salt is a potent salt, which demands the liberal supply of salt to the system, but also the great quantity of water, which passes through the organism to purify the food and to cool the body in an atmosphere of high temperature. And such chemical conditions as we find in India—high temperature, combined previously with great moisture—the carbon or chlorine in the human body, if not liberally supplied with common salt, a high degree of susceptibility for all the elements which are soluble in India, keeping the heat, chlorine, and the various forces to a constant poison in the food. . . .

In the House of Commons (see *The Times*, 16th May, 1884), in answer to a question by Mr. Burt, the Under-Secretary of State for India admitted, that in Malabar alone, during the official year ending 31st March 1883, 1,000,000 were or were supposed for living in possession of that salt. Of these persons, 95 per cent. were furnished with a minimum and 7,500,000 lb. of salt were used for food before the poorest Nigamites, of whom, (if the account) 55 per cent. were converted.

The latter admitted that of that amount the tax on salt in Malabar was double what it was in the East India Company's days.

I do not hesitate to say that the salt tax in the Malabar part of the history of Great Malabar is only in India, and a full knowledge of its historical character will, I trust, lead to an agitation for its abolition. . . . [Hume says]

then salt and the man (Tate, respondent said that water salt is salt—Hume, 1883, 1884). He thinks we should tolerate more salt-water than we could of anything, and almost even the conditions that 'generally, the healthier part of English women, when compared with their continental sisters, is due to their being more exposed to the salt air of the sea, they obtain the necessary salt in the act of breathing the salt-laden air, which the wind wafts over the land from the profuse coast. The salt air in the west coast of Africa, with conditions by a constant and prolonged exposure of the patient to sea water.

* The author quotes elsewhere in the book a Latin proverb meaning, "Nothing is more wholesome"

Copart Women's Resolve

Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned women of Copart, have come to the conclusion that we may not keep ourselves apart from the great national agitation that is taking place. We are in full sympathy with the civil disobedience campaign in respect of the salt tax. Our sisters in the village have already begun the manufacture of salt-water ink.

But we feel that we must, as women, find an additional and special field for our activity. We find the terms of Gandhiji's argument that women are better fitted for *satyagrah* with the presence of the prohibition of attending courts and doing out-judges of foreign cloth. While law forbids many a woman, and foreign cloth has degraded millions of India's women of their employment during leisure hours, which means as the aggregate is no less than four months in the year.

These two are therefore questions that concern the women more than men. And so we feel we may be able to do much with *satyagrah*—making, say, an appeal to the hearts of those who make or those things and those who are faced to the dress and the thing as the foreign cloth things, we feel that we may make a more successful effort than men. And women doing the work must automatically secure its personal success.

We are confident upon the campaign we should expect little good on that it is especially the duty of the State to protect traffic in intoxicating drinks and drugs because they run both mind and body and hence of those who indulge in them and to prohibit the entry of foreign cloth, especially as a tax brought about the economic ruin of the villages of this unhappy land.

As to the prohibition of foreign cloth it might be argued that the argument first applies to foreign cloth, applies also partially to the cloth manufactured in India with. Only the output of Indian mills is at the head of the Government that India can have nothing to fear from them.

We wish that we had time enough to discuss the aspects of our action as the whole programme. But we know what their aspects of duty to be. After all we are not dealing with one problem. There have already been before the women through an national representation, the Congress. When we are invited to do so in districts ourselves more to these questions than to the others which along with them are being dealt with in name of the independence movement.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

Shanta Mohin
Saharan C. Datta
Bhaskaran Choudhary
Prayagdas Choudhary
Anandil
Vijayaram Dasgupta
Lalitha
Rajendrakant Mahabharata
Chandrabhawan Jyoti
Datta
Vijayaram Dasgupta
Ranga
Anand Kumbh
Lalithakant Nair
Mishra Puri
Anand Tyagi
Bakshi Tyagi
Kanchanvaran Mangalika
Gandharva

Sobhan Choudhary
Taranan Choudhary M.
Bachchan
Santosh Anandil Parthiv
Vijayaram Nair
Mr. Choudhary Nagesh
Anand Sobhan
Mishra Choudhary
Lalitha Harpal Datta
Narayan Babubhai
Mahabharata
Joshi M. Gudi
Datta Mahesh Datta
Gandharva Choudhary
Datta
Savitri Thakur
Mrs. Jayashankar Anandil

Questions Answered

Professor Fred Reed Pasha taught at me when last I was in India and asked me some pertinent questions on Hindu, Muslim Unity. As we request he referred the questions to writing so that I could give precise answers. The reader will find the questions and the answers below.

Q. 1. You say that the present campaign is a tactical only to create the necessary strength among the people to get independence rather than to establish independence. If you feel that Dominion Status on the basis of the Mahatma Report will create that strength, will you accept it when the Muslims feel that it would be only Hindu strength rather than National strength that would be gained thereby?

A. I should agree that that any good can give us strength. In an case could the Mahatma scheme be viewed as exempted if only because the communal system suggested therein does not satisfy those concerned as it had also because it does not regulate the independence as it adversely could not at the time.

Q. 2. Do you consider the All India League to be more or different from you over the issue of starting the disobedience of the salt law and over the question of participation in the Round Table Conference and that they were in no way influenced by the British Government in the adoption of such an attitude?

A. I certainly consider the All India League to be more or what they say. If I believed them to be innocent or capable of being influenced by the British Government, I should never hope of their being swayed from what to me appears to be a genuine view as my duties require to them to be.

Q. 3. Do you consider or not that the All India League still have a great following among the Muslim masses throughout India and who would credit your noble sacrifice only of the All India League among them that such a step will not be detrimental to their interests?

Further don't you think that even the All India League with all their reluctance ways and still are prepared to drop their campaign of the Mahabharata Hindu just as you were and still are prepared to carry the Hindu community with you in the outcome of the communal question although your leadership in other matters is not questioned?

A. How can it be otherwise? These mass of masses will always move for the All India League as following among the Muslim masses. There is no doubt therefore that that society would never add much strength to the cause.

Deep mental sympathy cannot be depicted by leaders however influential they may be.

Q. 4. Do you think the Muslims specially of the M. W. P. Province and Malabar are sufficiently treated for our violent light as the Hindu specially of Copart are, and do not just recent occurrences in these provinces appear to you the necessity of stopping such exaggerated positions from immediate participation until such negotiation is complete and that otherwise there would be an unnecessary loss of Muslim life?

A. I have repeatedly stated these previous that we supported the order and violence against participation in the struggle. It is quite enough if they can give their sympathy.

M. K. G.

The Effects of the Moderators

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Gandhi's Message to the Nation

[The following is an English translation of a message dictated by Gandhi at Luck on April 24, when there was a strong feeling of his impending death. A month has gone by, but the message still holds good. The politics of today are a challenge to the honour and loyalty of India to meet the duty which has now been laid on her. Asst. Ed. P. J.]

At last the long expected hour seems to have come. In the dead of night my colleagues and companions have roused me from deep slumber and requested me to give them a message. I am therefore dictating this message, although I have not the slightest inclination to give any.

Messages I have given enough already. Of what avail would this message be if none of the previous messages evoked a proper response! For consolation received and the midnight hour are no consolation that my message did not tell her, but we were told up by the people in right earnest.

The people of England seem to have risen to a lady as it were. I have seen with my own eyes thousands of men and women at the end of March, fearfully breaking the Salt Act. Not a sign of mischief, not a sign of violence have I seen, despite the presence of people in such large numbers. They have remained perfectly peaceful and non-violent, although Government officers have misrepresented all kinds.

How in England will what our people have done be seen? Have been arrested and after treatment, and the people have been perfectly unharmed. They have returned in good way to their homes, and have celebrated the occasion, by offering still cheerfulness to ever increasing numbers. This is just as it should be.

If the struggle on non-violence began to be continued in the same spirit of non-violence to the end and only shall we see Peace Society established in this country before long, but we shall have given to the world an object lesson worthy of India and her glorious past.

Several men without number cannot but say, I would therefore like our people to get ready to make the highest sacrifice that they are capable of, in true sacrifice all the suffering is on our side—ours is required to meet the act of getting killed without feeling of getting life by losing it. May India live up to her mission.

At present India's will respect, to that her all, is stretched as it were to a bundle of sticks in the Satyagrah's hand. Let the first holding it therefore be broken, but let there be no voluntary surrender of the salt.

Let the Government, if it claims to be a civilised Government, put those who help themselves to another kind salt. After their arrest the civil resistance will gladly surrender the salt, as they will their bodies and to satisfy of their justice.

But by some means to reach the salt from the barren Satyagrah's hands to the salt from the salt and so much in India. That would not be answered only by offering one hand to be broken without loosening the grip. From then the whole nation or the nation may not have to be broken again against the non-violent hostility should be answered not by violence but by a dignified and calm resistance of all suffering in the name of God.

Let not my companions or the people at large be perturbed over my arrest, for it is not I, but God who is guiding this movement. His eye dwells in the hearts of all, and He will conclude to be the right guidance if only we have faith in Him. Our path has already been cleared out for us. Let every village have its own house controlled salt, where should perfect house shops, spinners and foreign cloth dealer's shops. Young and old in every house should spin the cloth and spin and get even larger of your every day. Foreign cloth should be burnt. Houses should rather uncontrollably. Indian Khaddars, Shirts, Pants, and Clothes should of course be burnt only. Let the money that comes with what created after the salt has been melted. Let students leave Government schools and colleges, and Government servants resign their offices and devote themselves to service of the people, and we shall find that Peace Society will come knocking at our doors.

To Workers

The events in the country today are moving at such a rate that it is hardly responsible to keep pace with them. The readers of Young India and the workers in those provinces must therefore bear with us if they find that the news published in these columns is sometimes rather meagre and not quite up-to-date. Here that the nation is based on the numerous presence of Gandhi the need for publishing thoroughly accurate and authentic information about the progress of events becomes all the more great. We would therefore request the workers in various parts to offer their fullest co-operation in us in this arduous task. Needless to say, no news should be sent accuracy of which the reader cannot personally verify by, and all tendency to exaggeration should be religiously and religiously kept down. The staff has nothing to be underestimation but the slightest deviation from the straight line of truth and no workers will voluntarily damage our cause.

Asst. Ed. P. J.

Civil Disobedience in Udaipur

The Secretary, Udaipur P. C. C. wrote

20-4-35 Salt was manufactured today in four different centres. Volunteers from Gopnath and Bagel helped the Udaipur volunteers at one centre. Two of their boats have been arrested.

Ones left in the field at Juchadi

In the afternoon Juchadi with ten other villages were sent to destroy the salt law. They manufactured salt and sold it.

Shrihari Karmakar in company with several other women of a different village broke the salt law under cover of great darkness.

21-4-35 The victory of the Satyagrahis at Juchadi is amazing. Thousands of villages have begun openly to manufacture amounts of salt in different centres. About 700 men from the neighbouring villages have started the work from today, at the Provincial Workers Committee has decided to permit villages to proceed to other towns and districts.

A batch of 30 Juchadi started to try to break the salt law. Thousands of spectators gathered at the spot.

Struggle at Bartha

At Mahanagar Bartha a well known and popular Congress worker of Barwa challenged the Government at Bartha on the 25th April. He began the holy struggle at 11 a.m. Three volunteers, including the ladies, were arrested immediately. Three innocent villagers who were merely standing by were also arrested, because the police wanted to intimidate the villagers of Bartha, who have totally supported the Government since for a long time.

On the next day the work was taken up by another batch and the police started making arrests here and there the policy of destroying the salt.

First batch of men and women to Juchadi

22-4-35. Following Chhatrapati's advice, the Satyagrahis adopted a novel method today. A batch of 25 or arranged themselves that there was a strong line of volunteers to protect the salt that was being manufactured at the centre by a few of them. It became well and well successful for the police to penetrate through this cordon. They tried to break through by attacking one Satyagrahi, but the Satyagrahis refused to surrender unless the whole group was arrested, because they considered that they had committed the same offence. So the whole batch was arrested and brought to the Government camp. After 2 hours only four of them were kept in custody and the rest were set free. These 21 volunteers again started manufacturing salt with the help of 4 new friends.

In the afternoon salt was manufactured and protected in the same way. The Government officers came in the spot with his followers, but seeing that it was not possible to break through the solid army of the Satyagrahis he returned disappointed.

Lady Satyagrahis

On the morning of the 23rd inst. 30 ladies others started salt at different centres in the neighbourhood of Juchadi. These ladies came from different villages, Tondra, Juchadi, Baga, Karmar, Juchadi, Barwar, Bartha etc.

All together more than 20 amounts of salt were manufactured in different villages today. Arrangements are being made to bring sufficient quantity of salt for sale to Barwa under regular Satyagrahi cover.

Up till now 1,000 ladies and 1,000 men have broken the salt law.

Women's Meeting at Cuttack

A public meeting of women representing all classes was held at Cuttack on the 23rd inst. under the presidency of Mrs. Karmar. During the meeting all were told for about the 25th inst. and also made 17 ladies belonging to different classes. These ladies resolved themselves in volunteers to start plant any foreign cloth shop. The ladies will approach every shopkeeper who sells foreign cloth and request him to sign a pledge promising not to sell any more foreign cloth. They will plant these shops that refuse to sign such pledges.

My Mother

When I was about two years old the greatest good fortune happened to me that decided and influenced the whole of my after life. My Mother had been fairly wealthy and therefore my father and her children had, up to that time, been living with my mother as one dear home in a state of comfort. My father, who was a champagne, had been able to undertake his spiritual work in the Church without taking any money from the congregation, because my mother's income had provided capital was ample for all family needs. Her money was under a trust, and a special trustee had been appointed to look after her property who signed all documents for her. Everything had been going on so smoothly ever since. I was born, and it seemed as though this would be my life's destiny.

But one day a letter came to my father early in the evening warning him that the trustee had been quarrelling with my mother's money. My father and telegram to London to arrange about about certain "provisional" matters in order to find out whether my mother's money was still available. Then in a month or so he came back. One telegram after another came back to say that the money in my mother's name had been withdrawn, and the last news of all came that the trustee had disappeared. He had been spending my on the stock exchange with my mother's money and had lost it all. Indeed, it was afterwards discovered that for some years he had been defrauding.

All that afternoon I sat over and over on my father's cushion and my mother trying to comfort him, who was heartbroken. My father was blaming himself, because the trustee was his own dearest friend whom he had placed to be appointed when his will had been drawn up in favour of my mother before the marriage settlement. Not only was there his own money that he had himself person, but there was money, but also the whole property of his friend's family entrusted to him. It would be difficult to describe, therefore, the agony he was in when he had seen that and telegram after telegram was signed telling the same story of ruin. I clung to my mother like a young child and wanted the dearest woman alive, but I was still too young to understand what it all meant. Only the fact that my father's friend had ruined my mother of all her money because there he was and I wondered with a childish dread what my father would do.

Then came the hour of evening worship, which was always read in the family. My mother was brave and quiet and I was sitting beside her as my father

and the Police from the Holy Temples. It happened to be the Friday that David wrote about a week-and-a-half and continued the following verse:

"It is half past an evening, Day I could have been a"

"But it was then, my friend . . ."

"We both stood nearest together and walked in the House of God in unity"

Thus my father passed. Some terrible verses follow in the old Scripture, called down a curse upon the unbelieved loved, but my father never read those verses. Instead of that he began to come to pray to God, and I can well remember how he prayed with love and devotion in his room for the friend who had done him such terrible wrong. He prayed for his happiness and repentance. Indeed, as the years went on, he seemed to love all men of his own personal love, in his unworldly compassion for his friend. When he was free prayer he then was silent, and the whole aspect of the character was changed to one of spiritual stillness and joy. My mother stated to God my which no earthly loss of money could ever take away.

The rest of the story is very quickly told. I began her education by saying that the event was the very best good fortune that I ever had in my life. Let me explain that in detail. For consider what happened. First of all, I now loved and admired my father and mother as I had never done before. Even though I was a child I could understand and share something of what they had both suffered, and that increased my own love for them a hundredfold.

Secondly, I had to work for my own living from the very first instead of having everything provided for me. At the age of eight or nine (I forget which) the Birmingham High School offered me a scholarship, and from that time forward I was able to provide for my own education and earn a little from time to time when I got able to make up support the family.

Later on in my life, although we paid off my mother's property was refused to buy the same come from abroad that her brother had become deeply grateful for what he had done, and though he had squandered all his own money and my mother's property in speculation, and could not, therefore, make any repayment, he asked my father's and mother's forgiveness for what he had done, and then was really grateful and a transformation was in this way effected before he died.

Such a memory as that which I have described in this simple manner has been very sacred with me, and it has sustained all the rest of my life by the glow of the goodness both of my father and mother. The love that I had witnessed in this remarkable way in their own lives became reflected in my own mind and I felt a great joy that I was privileged to be their child.

Owing to the poverty of my home during the years that followed, we became a united family in a way that we should never have been become had we been born more wealthy. Thus all things worked together for good, and my mother's sacrifice on behalf of us all became even more wonderful still in its pure devotion after she had lost her property. She was absolutely working every day and all day long on our behalf, and as we ourselves had unworldliness, a waste on advanced and to all in self-satisfied ways.

C. F. Anderson

Satyagraha in Bihar

Satyagraha against salt laws has been going on in some adjoining districts and villages and the arrests have also been moving from districts to other parts in some places rather rapidly. The following table will give of a glance the situation in the Province.

District	No. of arrests	No. of salt caches	No. of villages where salt is manufactured
1. Champaran	127	101	More than 100
2. Patna	17	11	About 100
3. Bhagalpur	35	10	Number not known
4. Darbhanga	2	5	Do—Few
5. Patna	57	8	
6. Shalihat	4	12	
7. Gaya	3	1	
8. Munger	4	2	
9. Bhagalpur	1	1	
10. Bhagalpur	4		No salt is manufactured
11. Madhubani	4		Do same as in other
12. Sherki	1		Two districts police cases
			Do—west of salt north

Total 211 237

Among the arrested persons are 2 representatives of the Assembly, 4 members of the Legislative Council, more than a dozen chairmen and Vice-chairmen of District, Local and District Boards, several members, Parliament and members. Some leaders out of 10 districts in the Province have been deprived of the services of the President or Secretaries in both of the District Congress Committees and in some cases even of their relatives. Many of the more prominent Congress workers are already in jail.

Formerly the movement in most cases, particularly of the leaders, used to be simple. Now they are in more cases complex. A case of the position of D. Chakrabarty, Bhai, M. A., B. L., K. M. L. C., leader of the Congress party in the Council, and Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, who is loved and respected all over the Province was once handicapped with one of his competitors while they were being conveyed from one jail to another. I have seen other Satyagrahis being similarly treated.

In some places the Police have used force and destroyed pots and barrels in which they have made the Satyagrahis. Thus in Bhagalpur there is Champaran volunteers were arrested and placed at Champaran in Champaran the Joint Salt Inspector of Police brought into power the pole of the National flag and on the banner of the flag which the volunteers had erected for their stay and was going to the salt pits to a lot was presented by the volunteers, who all sat unmoved on it and challenged them to burn it with them.

Mr. President Virendra Prasad Varma, ex. the 1st May and was given a great reception by the citizens. He addressed a huge meeting of more than 12,000 gathered over by Mr. K. M. Hazare himself.

Apart from Salt Satyagraha propaganda against tax of foreign cloth, against salt and other things and demands in being carried on, and it is proposed to start printing of sheets of these articles in a few days time.

The spirit of the workers and people is high.

RAMAN

Rajendra Prasad

Young India

The Second Letter

[The following is the text of Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy dated on the eve of his arrest.]

V. G. D.]

Dear Friend,

God willing, it is my intention to . . . to set out for Dhamra and return there with my companions . . . and devoted promoters of the Salt Works. The public have been told that Dhamra is a private property. This is very wrong. It is an effectively under Government control as the Viceroy's Pleasure. Not a pinch of salt can be removed without the previous sanction of the authorities.

It is possible for you to prevent this salt, as it has been playfully and mockingly called, in three ways:

1. by increasing the salt tax.
2. by arresting me and my party unless the country can, as I hope it will, replace every centime owing.
3. by other government action every head broken is repaid, as I hope it will.

It is not without surprise that the step has been decided upon. I had hoped that the Government would fight the civil resistance in a peaceful manner. I could have had nothing to say of its dealing with the civil resistance the Government had selected itself with applying the ordinary practices of law. Instead, whilst the leaders have been dealt with more or less according to the local locality, the rank and file has been often severely and the more severe often infamously punished. Had there been no such cases, they might have been overlooked. But accounts have come in from Bengal, Bihar, Ujjain, U. P., Delhi and Bombay confirming the experience of Gujarat of which I have ample evidence of my disposal in Karachi, Poona and Madras the flag would appear to have been approved and necessary. There have been letters, private parts have been exposed for the purpose of making volunteers give up, to the Government relations, in the resistance process etc. At Madras an American Magazine is said to have attacked the national flag from a few years old boy. The report that demanding restoration of the flag thus gloriously raised, is reported to have been immediately taken back. That the flag was subsequently restored betrayed a guilty conscience. In Bengal there came to have been only a few prosecutions and arrests about salt, but considerable conflict seemed to have been practised in the act of catching flag from volunteers. Public places are reported to have been burnt, articles forcibly taken. A vegetable market in Calcutta has been closed because the dealers would not sell vegetables to officials. There are have taken place in front of crowds who, for the sake of Congress committee have submitted without resistance. I ask you to believe the accounts given by men pledged to truth. Representatives sent by high officials has, as in the Durand case, also proved false. The officials, I ought to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even

during the last few weeks. I take the following examples from Government notices issued from Collectors' offices in Gujarat:

'1. Adults use five pounds of salt per year, therefore pay three annas per year in tax. . . . If Government removed the monopoly people will have to pay higher prices and in addition make good to the Government the loss sustained by the removal of the monopoly. . . . The salt has been taken from the sea shore in not suitable, therefore the Government destroys it.'

'2. Mr. Gandhi says that Government has destroyed handicrafts in this country, whereas everybody knows that this is not true, because throughout the country, there is not a village where hand spinning of cotton is not going on. Moreover in every private cotton spinning unit above regular methods and are provided with better instruments at lower prices and are thus helped by Government.'

'3. Out of every five copies of the daily that the Government has accepted, copies that have been handily rejected.'

I have taken these three sets of statements from these different districts. I venture to suggest that every one of these statements is demonstrably false. The daily consumption of salt by an adult is three times the amount stated and therefore the salt tax that the salt tax absolutely is at least 5 annas per head per year. And this tax is levied from men, women, child and domestic cattle irrespective of age and health.

It is a stupid delusion to say that every village has a spinning wheel, and that the spinning movement is in every stage of being encouraged or supported by the Government. Planners can better dispose of the delusion that has set out of every law aspect of the public debt is used for the benefit of the public. But these falsehoods are more examples of what people have to play in it everyday connected with the Government. Only the other day in Gujrat a poor man, was arrested on personal affairs evidence in spite of his emphatic statement that at the time mentioned he was sleeping soundly in another place.

Now for instances of official activities. Lower duties have numerous pockets selected by officials to have been searched and sold before in contravention of regulations. The officials have taken no notice either of the amount or the illegal sales of liquor due to the amount, though they are known to everybody, they may take shelter under the plea that they have received no complaints.

And now you have among upon the country a false Calcutta regarding day labourers leaves in India. You have found a short cut through the law delay in the matter of the trial of Bhagat Singh and others by doing away with the ordinary procedure. Is it any wonder if I call all these official activities and inordinance a violent form of Martial Law? Yes this is only the fifth work of the struggle!

Worse than the signs of reaction that has just begun throughout India, I feel that I must take a better step, and if possible direct your minds in a change if more drastic changed. You may not know the things that I have described. You may not even care believe in it. I can but leave your reason, situation to them.

Any way I feel that it would be desirable to say just now to advise you to declare to the full the lengths of violence to that the people who are violent believe and destruction of their property may not feel that I, who had perhaps been the chief party inspiring them in action that has brought to right light the Government in its true colours, had left my door unlocked to work out the Satyagraha programme as fully as it was possible under given circumstances.

Yes, according to the nature of Satyagraha, the giving the rope and lawlessness on the part of violence, the power should be the suffering caused by the violence. Violence is the natural result of violence of the extreme character, violently unresponsive.

I know the dangers attendant upon the methods adopted by me. But the country is not likely to subscribe my meaning. I say what I mean and think. And I have been saying for the last three years in India and outside for twenty years more and repeat now that the only way by which violence is through non-violence pure and undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word and every thought impurities with the progress of non-violent action. If in spite of such repeated warnings people will resort to violence, I must assume responsibility even such as lawfully attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being. But the question of responsibility again. I dare not postpone action on any cause whatever, if non-violence is the basis the acts of the world have claimed it to be and if I am not to take my own extensive responsibility of its working.

But I would then avoid the further step. I would declare to you in essence the law which states of your Christian countries have condemned in numerous of times and which, as you could not have failed to observe, has evoked universal protest and revulsion expressed in civil disobedience. You may condemn civil disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to civil disobedience? If you say, as you have said, that the civil disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government got having business and under standing non-violence, granted human nature its violence which it could understand, and deal with. But in spite of the pending I shall hope that God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and prevention to violence.

If therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the salt tax, and remove the prohibition on private salt-making, I must reluctantly commence the search of uncharted in the spreading geography of my letter.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. Gandhi

The Story of Bardoli

Descriptive history of the Bardoli Satyagraha, by Mahadevi Prasad, pp. 276, Delhi: Ganesha, printed in D. C. P. Hyderabad Press, well-bound, with index, glossary, five illustrations and a map of Bardoli Taluka. Price Rs. 2-6-0 plus 1/- for postage and postage. For foreign countries, 1/- or \$1.50 post free.

Copies can also be had on Monday from our Stock office at Prince Street.

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Manager, Young India

Fraternising

Roared and belted down, men marching about with rifles, the clanking of armour, the clanking of chains. An atmosphere of violence and repression. And behind these down, shut up in that atmosphere, some of the finest sons of India. You—not only at Solapur, but throughout the length and breadth of the country, meet of the richest children of the land, have now been shut into prisons. While, men, suffering men, men that the poorest country in the world would be proud to own.

Is this Britain's love of Freedom and Justice?

I had gone to see Mahadevi Prasad in Solapur, left, and as I sat passing my time at the Prison Gate, waiting the admission, my heart thought with me alternating emotions. Joy and pain for the sons of India and sorrow and shame for the sons of England.

But come, say the sons of England will suffer and suffer. If India can come through the great struggle by means of truth and non-violence, then the freedom of India must mean also the freedom of England.

Sometimes looked out from the barred and bolted doors and called us to come. In we went, and up the stairway. On the landing at the top we were told to take our seats by a little table at which sat a stout and stately Englishman—yourself, said we were told.

I entered into conversation with him. After all, we are all human beings together, and let us feel that bond—that very bond which is most denied by Governments. How much they loved 'fraternising' during the great Boer War. A Government can only carry on its devilish schemes as long as it can prevent the two sides from realising that the method which is to be employed or discarded is also composed of actual men with hopes and fears and joys and sorrows like themselves.

And now Mahadevi moved. A little pale and worn looking, but full of spirit and good humour. After some talk he turned to me and said, 'There is no talking which occurred on my way to ask which I must tell you about.'

And indeed it was just one of those interesting incidents.

"The trial was over," he began "and I was put into the prison van. On the back of the van was an English sergeant. There was a huge crowd all round. Suddenly a stone was thrown from somewhere, and it hit the sergeant on the shin, giving him a nasty cut. 'Agh!' exclaimed the man, catching the stone as it fell from his face. 'See what your wicked people do! If they want to see violence we could have nothing to say. For look at this barbarian. People who can't be non-violent, but better keep out of this movement, or they will do you in.' " I hardly expressed my sorrow," continued Mahadevi, "and told him that if he would stop the van, I would speak to the crowd, and make them thoroughly ashamed of themselves. "No, I can't stop the van," said the sergeant—and again he began to scold me of the offer. 'Get about me! I do shut up in this van!' I said, 'I can only assure you I am extremely pained at the incident, and I would gladly atone for it. Let me with the stone—it will be good.' I added 'No, no!' and the sergeant, beginning to snarl. But after a little he again began to get over on the subject. 'Agh, no, what wicked things the people are doing—look at Paderewski—why can't such

people keep out of the movement?" "Yes," I replied with deep feeling, and we began to converse about Bapu and the general situation.

"But since you're behind at the station that was an big haul and successful," I said, keeping this in a moment. "No, please don't do that," I said. If you have any belief in the sincerity of my answer, you will spare it away." This sentence touched his heart, and then and there he flung it from him.

"We were now passing by the station 'the day's my home,' I said, pointing it out to him. 'That's this,' he replied, 'I have agreed with the Indians. When you come out of prison I must come and visit you.' 'Yes, do,' I said, 'I should be delighted. And perhaps one you would give me your name, that I may keep it with me.' 'You certainly, but I've not got a pencil to write it down with,' he answered. 'Here is my pen,' I replied, handing it to him through the wire netting. He wrote down the name, and, with the piece of paper, was about to hand back the pen through the window. 'No, please keep the pen,' I said, 'it will be a nice memento, and how much better than the sheet! He was deeply touched, and with overflowing appreciation put the little memento away in his pocket.

"We gained the very heart of Gandhi," concluded Mahadevi, her face beaming with delight.

Our time was up. We bid Mahadevi farewell, and passed out once more through the barred gateway.

Mrs.

The Evergreen on the Salt Tax To, The Editor of Young India

Sir,

It is nearly 16 that 16 years since I first began to denounce the Indian Salt monopoly and I cannot help congratulating with much of what Mr. Gandhi says on the subject in your issue of the 27th of February and answered that as usual, he is, I think, what is the British Government which did not accept the Salt Tax and has done a great deal to mitigate its evils. And, we must agree that the monopoly of salt is necessary of life is what Mr. calls 'essential', though common to other so called essential commodities but it "all the world" is to be "used" (In Latin old version), including the Indians, as in all houses of world to be, the only alternative to the Salt Tax is a Free Tax which would in many ways be even more agreeable and more difficult to collect. The only excuse for the Salt Tax is that it is necessary salt for the necessary good life, as the South of India at my rate, actually get a handful of salt thrown on by the Government (readers) with their daily produce of other necessities. The great objection, too, I always thought, was that we don't know what harm we may be doing by interfering with the unrestricted use of salt. Independently of that fact is most probably one of the causes of leprosy in Norway, as well as the East. Part of my duty as a District Magistrate was to prevent poor old women from the enormous hoard of the subordinates of the Salt Dept. It is a mistake to speak of India as a poor country. It is a very wealthy country situated by the extensive possession of extremely poor people, and the British Government is not the cause of that.

*Note in this month's story *Indians* was justified may be not Mr's period of the second given on p. 185.

strongly. It may be that 12 millions, say, say, 1/10 of the whole population never get even one full meal a day, but why? Not because the country is a whole time out in ordinary years produce enough for all, but because almost India is left as elsewhere has never had as far share of the produce of labour. Is that the fault of the British Government? The unassumed share of the actual cultivator under British Law was a bare subsistence.

Mr. Gandhi knows as well as I do that most of the means of poverty in India are indigenous to the country (see p. 132 of "Young India" quoted above). It never seems hard to say that 30 Rs. spent on a marriage, involving debt for years a subsistence, but if the income of such person is only 12 Rs. say, from 100 Rs. to 120 Rs. a year for an average family—can protest that would involve their expenditure of 20 Rs. in one marriage as the widest extravagance. Yet it was not uncommon in my time to hear of a family borrowing 2 paise money for such a ceremony and never getting out of debt again. Probably 10% in this country are below the stage of decent living, being "subsistence" as Mr. Gandhi used to call it, and suffer more from their social condition in the shade than the people in South India, at my rate, who pay no rent and can always almost choose in the open air.

Mr. Gandhi knows quite well that there are many well-to-do people all over India and a few million of millionaires in it would not be able to make such substantial collections by his work wherever he goes. It is only as a woman, (though a very capable one,) that the people of India spend more or more than 100 Rs. beyond, even apart from the military costs of England, than the whole Land Revenue, say, 4, 15 millions. But the average Indian will cheerfully risk himself by England.

The enormous absorption of gold by India is mentioned, as shown in a paper on pp. 345-346 and 147 of "Truth about India," that Mr. Gandhi carefully shows from reading that very short book as packed with old Truth about the country.

The only share in India as my time were the work attached to the salt in India and prevented from acquiring by being kept in debt to them (generally British) creditors. (Readers)—that Father was at any rate one of their kind and their creditors grow thus one debt every year—that was the commercial custom with which the British had nothing to do.

Why protest "Young India" knew to the words of "The T. Mather has shown experience and ability are almost controlled and who was by no means an expert shadow of British experience," when he said "The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more one has had that there is no movement on the part of the earth (The Indians are said which suffer less from political evil—the hope of about the salt monopoly—"and more from self-indulgence or self-interest or self-interest and therefore avoidable only than the "Hindu" (Truth about India Part I, p. 11).

Yours truly,

J. H. Pennington

(Mr. Pennington's argument cannot appeal to one like me who has experience. A statement of argument is discarded before one touch of experience. Cited as is

my appeal for the late Mr. T. Madhav Rao, I must be pardoned for not including his account of Poitulu rule. I shared the distressed statesman's view, expressed at 208 lines. But better exposures concerned them. Every one of the exposures advanced by Mr. Pennington has been answered in these pages.

M. K. G.]

Notes

Another Jallianwala

The reader will find elsewhere the statement issued by Madhav Rao in connection with the Poitulu massacre, and in course of a letter addressed to Gandhi and received here at 1 P.M. this morning, the Vice-President of the Khilafat Committee, Poitulu, writes:

"Honble Madhav Shik Madad of our beloved Poitulu martyrs who on 21st April without any warning were first trampled under barbarous whips by the Deputy Commissioner, Poitulu, and who were then summarily shot in a narrow square like little party of Kama Khad Nary, once lived for redress.

"Jallianwala Bagh on a bigger scale has been created by Poitulu, officials but prepared by the Poitulu Khilafat Committee since 7th April, 15 morning and about 1800 assembled. The residents of Poitulu are strictly non-violent. In the name of God and humanity came to Poitulu and are with you and are the other effects of the heinous tragedy, or who come after necessary steps. The Government officials are suppressing these facts and playing camouflage by issuing misleading statements.

"Poitulu public is now feeling dejected to request officials to observe Wednesday the 7th of May as Poitulu Martyr's Day and to keep fast as a tribute to the sacred memory of the Poitulu martyrs. And we also request you to make our appeal a success."

Quandry having been arrested last night, it is not physically possible for him to proceed to Poitulu and see the after effects of the tragedy. But his spirit will certainly be set indignantly over that affliction only, all the more so as the Poitulu martyrs exhibited supreme valour which puts us to test of the prime days of Indian history. We determine that by the time this appears in print, the Martyr's Day will have been suitably observed all over the country.

Recd.

2nd May '30

V. G. D.

Condemn in Bengal

A friend writes to Gandhi

"The lectures at Coastal and its offshoots are daily becoming more and more barbarous and heinous. Every day the officials and the constables beat mercilessly in one or the other order. They take away crops, beat away slaves and rape the Satyagrahis severely. They give blows and kicks to the lower children and many drop down dead. I could not believe when I first heard that a girl was thrown into the water of a well when she was lying unconscious, but the statement of a doctor friend (Dr. M. S. S.) who examined the Satyagrahis set all my doubts at rest. They adopt many more tactics. They spoil the food when the volunteers are dying or when it is being cooked or is just ready.

They throw away one and set on fire it away to their steps. The volunteers often have to go without food.

"They follow three methods (i) keep the leaders away from the field (ii) prevent the Satyagrahis so that they may run away and leave the movement and (iii) isolate the women to prevent about so that it may not develop into a mass uprising. Therefore, whenever village people take the Satyagrahis to severely beat with. Sometimes the constables surround the houses of those that are in sympathy with us, surround them and do not even open the gates. One day many villagers were sent to be arrested and made to sit on road for sometime on the hot sun.

"One day the whole group of volunteers at Poitulu was arrested on the strength of a warrant and taken out. In the meantime the houses were looted up and garaged and the volunteers were to go with a warning.

"I cannot make you know the Government, which is believed to be corrupt and criminal, can carry on such barbarous activities on non-violent Satyagrahis. You were the feeling of the Satyagrahis most severely when you say that they would rather compel the Government to change than allow them to perpetrate these heinous atrocities continuously."

V. G. D.

Regulation XXV of 1927

The Regulations are of 1927 under which Gandhi was arrested is called the Regulation for the confinement of State prisoners and for the attachment of the lands of chieftains and others for revenue of State.

The preamble of the Regulation says "Whereas certain of State embracing the free administration of the affairs thereof by the British Government with foreign Powers, the maintenance of tranquillity in the territory of India. Powers vested in its provinces and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion, accordingly made it necessary to place under general criminal jurisdiction against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceedings or when such proceedings may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for some other reasons be inadvisable or improper the following rule have been enacted."

Rules

The first provision under the Regulation says when any of the conditions stated in the preamble of the Regulation may come to the Government Council to require that no individual should be placed under criminal without any reasonable cause to affect process, laws of a judicial nature, it shall be lawful for the Government Council, "provided always that with reference to the individual the measure shall not be in breach of British Law, to cause such individual to be apprehended in such manner as the Government Council may deem fit and when apprehended to be delivered over to my officer or when custody of they be deemed expedient that, he shall be placed with personal of commitment in such officer's address.

The second rule says the warrant of commitment shall be sufficient authority for the detention of any State prisoner in any fortress, jail or other place within State subject to the following.

How Gandhiji was arrested

Gandhiji's arrest was swift and sudden. I might even say dramatic. I was lying beside Gandhiji and even if we neither wrote nor scribbled I was by no means fast asleep. All of a sudden I heard the sound of footsteps fast approaching to Gandhiji's direction, and just as I opened my eyes I beheld a powerful flashlight and a number of policemen who immediately surrounded the rest of our beloved leader. In a minute I was up and standing by Gandhiji's side. It was then 12-45 A. M.

Gandhiji required of the halting party if they wanted him. The District Magistrate replied in the affirmative, and said that he had no order for his (Gandhiji's) arrest. Gandhiji thereupon replied if they would stand waiting till he closed the book. The D. S. P. had no objection and readily agreed. When Gandhiji was thus engaged, the volunteers assembled all round. The police made a cordon around Gandhiji's cot, only one flycatcher netted and I remained beside the cot with Gandhiji. But soon the cordon was relaxed on one side and several volunteers got a free access to Gandhiji. "My District Magistrate, may I leave the charge under which I am arrested? Is it Section 187?" asked Gandhiji. "No, not under Sec. 187. I have got a written order," replied the District Magistrate.

"Would you mind reading it to me?" said Gandhiji. The District Magistrate thereupon read out to Gandhiji the order.

Gandhiji with his smiling courtesy thanked the District Magistrate and went about his meditating with his usual calmness and composure. It was passing 1 A. M. and as the police wanted to effect arrest before I awoke, they requested Gandhiji to hurry up. His wife came ready to go with them, but before he was allowed to enter into their custody he asked Pandit Bhure to recite the Shriya hymn with which we commenced our march—*Shriya matu shi etc.* Gandhiji stood up, his eyes closed and his head bent in more devotion while Pandhiji sang the hymn. The police were, all of us, hypnotised down before Gandhiji and bade us affectionate farewell. The police constable took charge of his two small Khaki suitcases and a small bundle of his clothes. At the same time he was nicely helped on the police lorry—and as a few minutes were not of sight. Then it was that the constable showed upon his brow the gleams that entered our camp at about night and looked as ill as our precious treasure!

Gandhiji is gone—at least for the time being. I was so much hit by the lamentable legacy of truth and non-violence that he has left behind and glided with us for ever. The fire of an unending attraction that he has kindled in our hearts will very rapidly grow into a big bright flame, and every true daughter and every brave son of India will realise perchance that henceforth their land has swathed life of therapy. We sit now in our trial cage. Let us pray that we may not be found wanting and that we may simply hold the hopes of our beloved leader.

Agast T. Hingorai

The Great Arrest

At about 11 o'clock, the darkness they came, to find the army. For, "when they sought to lay hold on him, they found the archbishop, because they took him for a prophet."

At twelve o'clock at night the District Magistrate of Surat, two Indian police officers, armed with pistols and some thirty policemen armed with rifles silently and suddenly came into the peaceful little compound where Gandhiji and his dependents were sleeping. They immediately surrounded the party, and the English officers going up to the hall and turning a flashlight on to Gandhiji's face, said

"Are you Mahatma Karamchand Gandhiji?"

"Yes, what now?" inquired Gandhiji gently, and added, "Please give me time for my shikhar."*

He commenced to shake his head and the officers, therefore in hand, stood watching him. Gandhiji knew what of there was a moment and the Magistrate's footstep read out the following order

"Whereas the Government of India, views with alarm the activities of Mahatma Karamchand Gandhiji in connection with the said Mahatma Karamchand Gandhiji, should be placed under restraint under Regulation 187 of 1920, and under imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and that he be immediately removed to the Yeravda Central Jail."

The archbishop, indeed, his first little sensation passed off, and his papers landed gave to him of his party. Gandhiji again turned to the officers and said, "Please give me a few minutes more to my papers." This was granted, and he forthwith stood and gazed with his occupation, surrounded by the class of police.

As soon as the papers were over, they turned him over, put him into a motor lorry and drove him off accompanied by the three officers and some eight policemen.

All telegrams and telephone communications were cut off, and police guarded the route.

Swift, what secrecy

No trial, no action.

The Government is making its own statement and the arrested has looked to the silence of the press and.

They may take his full body and cast it into jail — They may strike his pale voice with the heavy prison walls. But they cannot strike the Great God — His sentence will penetrate all earthly barriers. The ones they strike in another life, the brighter and brighter will I shine, filling not only India, but the whole world.

Ah India, India, now is thy hour of greatest trial. May God lead thee on the path to Victory and Peace.

We who love and know thee with a love and knowledge exceeding all mortal words, has told thee that Freedom is now within thy reach if thou hast the strength and courage to strike to the Free Path — the Path which he has shown thee of Truth and Non-violence. May God give thee that strength and He goes with thee always.

Mira.

* B. N. Chatterjee, XII, 44.

I thought the following — "as you have not yet applied a written with words and ideas to your mind? I feel duty to the people teaching, and you just as you."

B. N. Chatterjee, XII, 44

Non-violence at Peshawar

M. Abdul Qadir Khan, President Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore and President of the Punjab Sarayana Committee, has circulated the following statement:

As reports and conflicting versions of the happenings at Peshawar have been appearing from time to time, I have been at pains to discover the true facts as far as possible at this juncture. I have interviewed several responsible eye witnesses, and after considering all the statements I believe the following version to be the nearest possible to truth:

It is well known that the All-India Congress Committee deputation that went to make enquiry into the working of the North West Frontier Regulations was stopped at Peshawar early in the morning of 23rd of April and not allowed to proceed any further.

Meanwhile all the prominent Congress leaders and workers with a large crowd had assembled at the Peshawar railway station for a fitting reception to this deputation. When the news came through that the deputation was not allowed to come to Peshawar, a large procession was taken out through the city and in the evening a large mass meeting was held to protest against the oppressive policy of the Government. It was also announced at the meeting that the decision of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee that had already been arrived at to protest the first liquor shops in the city would be given due effect to from the morning of the 24th.

The Frontier Government, seeing the thoroughly lawlesslike preparations made by the Congress Committee to carry out the picketing and knowing that it would have great effect on the people, decided to arrest all the important leaders. Consequently between 5 and 6 in the early hours of the morning on the 24th of April the following six people were arrested:

1. Khuda Ali Ghal Khani, Vice-President, Provincial Congress Committee.

2. M. Abdul Hakim, Member Provincial Congress Committee.

3. Lala Pota Khani, General Secretary, Frontier Provincial Congress Committee.

4. Mr. Acharya Ram, Volunteer, Frontier Provincial Congress Committee.

5. Mr. Abdul Rahman, Member Narayana Khana Sabha.

6. Mr. Rahim Bilal Khan, Narayana Khana Sabha.

At six o'clock in the morning, when the Commissioner came to know of the arrest of the above six leaders, they went to the Congress Committee office and there they also learnt that workers were not allowed to go to Badkash, Khairpur, All-India Congress Committee, and President War Council and Mr. Mohi Khan, Secretary, City Congress Committee, and members of their own district without any police officer's taking for their arrest, took them out as a procession to the police station just inside the Sikh Gate and landed them over to the police officer there in charge. The crowd accompanying the procession thereafter in a very peaceful manner came back to the Congress office. The arrangements for picketing were carried out duly and batches of volunteers were put on duty opposite

the five liquor shops. At seven, to meet the news just arrived that leaders had been arrested, there was a spontaneous funeral all over the city. At about 9:30 when a large crowd was standing peacefully in front of the Congress Committee office in a very orderly manner and giving a great ovation to the volunteers who were being sent out on picketing duty, a Sub-Inspector of Police with several constables came in a lorry to the Congress Committee office and told the persons in charge there that he had with him two more versions of arrest against Mr. Ghal Khani and Mr. Bilal Khan. On receiving this news the crowd immediately made way for the two leaders to come out of the office and they proceeded cheerfully before the Sub-Inspector, who put them in the lorry and proceeded to the town. When the lorry reached the Sikh Gate the crowd got gathered and while the Sub-Inspector was thinking of sending for another lorry the two arrested gentlemen and the officials of the Congress told the Sub-Inspector that instead of his going to so much trouble they would of their own accord proceed there at the time and as the two other leaders had done earlier in the day. The police agreed to this and went away, and the procession started with these two gentlemen and reached the Sikh Gate there. They, however, found the gates of the Khana closed, probably due to the arrestment of the officer in charge there. The two leaders shouted and said they had come to offer themselves for arrest, but nothing was done and about half an hour later when the Sub-Inspector who had come to the Congress Committee office to arrest them reached the spot and learned the Khana to be closed, that the crowd was peaceful and that the two men were under arrest and had to be taken inside. The gates were opened, and after they were taken to the central in a most peaceful manner, after giving a great ovation to the arrested leaders and turning stream of English soldiers started to go back towards the city. Then that should be noted, that though a mob by now a little past two o'clock and the leaders had been arrested and seven of them had voluntarily offered themselves for arrest and there was a complete lull in the city, nothing had been done by the crowd to give the least chance for the officers to have any apprehensions.

Under such circumstances when the crowd had throughout been behaving in an exemplary manner and was advancing towards the city, two armed men full of soldiers came from behind without blowing the horn or giving any notice whatever of its approach and drove into the crowd regardless of the consequences. Many people were brutally run over, several were wounded and at least three people died on the spot. In spite of this provocation the crowd still behaved with great restraint, collecting all the wounded and the three dead persons. We possess photographs of some of them. At the time an English officer in a motor cycle came driving past. As to what happened in the city is not quite clear. There are two conflicting versions. The said Government version says that he had come into the crowd and one of the persons who was wounded by a shot struck him on the head and he died. The other version that has been given to me is that he collided with the arrested

one which was standing by and was killed as a result of the explosion. Until some more support is made it is difficult to say what are the true facts. At the same time one of the witnesses can testify to, that again while it is alleged on the one hand that it was not due to the mob, the other witness is that it might be otherwise. By that time, however, a troop of English soldiers had reached the spot and without any warning to the crowd began firing on the crowd in which there were women and children also present. Now the crowd gave a good example of the lack of organisation that had been exhibited at home. When those in front fell down wounded by the shots, those behind came forward with their hands held and exposed themselves in the fire, so much so that some people got as many as 11 bullet wounds in their bodies and all the people stood their ground without getting into a panic. A young Sikh boy came and ran at the front of a soldier and asked him to fire at him, while the soldier unhesitatingly did, killing him. Similarly an old woman going for potatoes and branks being wounded came forward, was shot and fell down wounded. An old man with a four year old child on his shoulders, unable to reach the front clung to the soldier, asking the soldier to fire at him. He was taken at his word, and he also fell down wounded. Scores of such instances will come up on further enquiry. The crowd kept standing at the spot, facing the soldiers and were fired at from time to time, until there were large of wounded and dying lying about. The *Amrita-Bazar* paper of Lahore, which represents the official view, tried to write in the effect that the people came forward one after another to face the firing and when they fell wounded they were dragged back and others came forward to be shot at. This sort of things contained here in the 3 article in the evening. When the number of corpses became too many the Ambassadors of the Government took them away. It is said that they were taken to some unknown place and though they were mostly Mohammedans, the bodies were burnt. After this struggle the leaders of the public and volunteers collected all the remaining bodies. There were some 200 in number and there is a list of these people here.

Two facts are noteworthy in this connection. One is that of all the dead collected by the Congress there was not one single instance from where there was the mark of the bullet in the back. Further all the wounds were bullet wounds and there was no trace of gun shot. This is also an interesting fact that neither the police nor the military, nor anybody else alleges that there was any stick or weapon, blast or charge, with the persons in the crowd. The attitude of the crowd and the splendid faith that the Congress had in the people is evidenced by the fact that in spite of the presence of the British troops guarding the city the shooting went on without a break and the leaders of volunteers were just according to the programme. The whole day of the first day the gathering continued and no arrests were made. Through Section 144 was promulgated on the night of the first and the gathering of more than five was prohibited the gathering was continued on the 2nd and the order under Section 144 was defied

spontaneously and peacefully. On the 14th three batches of soldiers were sent after the other morning, but again nothing came and the gathering continued. The authorities taking their policy of non-provocation followed the volunteers and, it is said, also ordered the British ships to be closed for two months.

All this stage it is very difficult to say what is the number of the dead and the wounded. This much seems most likely, that the number of the dead is in hundreds and a careful study of the accounts seems to disclose the possibility to be a repetition of Johnstown death scenes.

It is a regrettable fact that the Government showed an ordinary heartlessness by providing no facilities even for food and to the wounded, and all that they did was merely to cart away as many dead bodies as they could and leave them as exposed as crows for a long and with a view to minimise the extent of the havoc caused by the needless firing.

These are the facts as far as I am gather from the history of this terrible incident I sent the following telegram to the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province:

"Commence making medical depots for relief of wounded as early as being at Peshawar. Skips depots will be provided facilities for the human work."

I received the following reply:

"Have assembled local leaders who estimate me in answer to you that all arrangements for medical treatment have been made and there is no need for you to send medical depots. Please therefore do not send it."

Through a I sent another telegram to the Chief Commissioner intimating to him that I have received no reply to my telegram from the Congress Committee of Peshawar and asking him to send me say that the leaders did not want any help. This telegram did not reach my sight.

Veiled Martial Law

[Below is given the full text of Girdhari's statement on the Press Act One has already appeared in a more or less veiled form in the various English papers.

Amrit Ed. P. 1.]

The arrival in the form of an ordinance of the Press Act that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected, and I observe that in its new form the Act contains embodied provisions making the whole press more deadly than before. Whether we notice it or not, for some days past we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law if it is not the will of the commanding officer for the hour being? The Viceroy is that officer, and whatever he considers it desirable to suppress the whole of the law book common and private and corporate offences as a people too submissive to stand at arms' length. I hope however that the time for more submission to the discipline from British rulers is past for ever. I hope that the people will not be frightened by this ordinance. The presence of they are worthy representatives of public opinion will not be frightened by the ordinance. Let us realize the true nature of Terrorism that it is



It is all under systematic rule but based upon to be able to find out what we have decided to hand over and how to handle without a return to the authors let us that they actually want to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls. I would therefore urge members and publishers to refuse to handle material, and if they are asked upon to do so, either to cease publishing or to place upon the material the conditions whatever they like. When freedom is actually handed out down and when the the rule of giving a Government have suffered failure, but it not be end of the press organizations that they were caught and found wanting. They may continue type and machinery, they will not continue pen and still less speech, but I suspect that they are content of completing what they had set - that what they will give account in suppressing and whitewash all the things that concern it the thought of the future and of the present moment. There is hardly a man in western Germany or India who with every breath does not breathe in desecration, robbery, duplicity and whatever other term one may use to describe the desecration of the spirit which has set its mind on destroying the sacred values of Government.

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Editor (1991-) J. C. Kunkel

WY

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[illegible][illegible]

A few minutes before 10 the volunteers all fell into line ready for the march. Mrs. Condit put the two boys aside on the old Indian School's front porch, and gathered the men and women at 5 & 6. At 10 the march commenced in the company of the Plains-walker group and the singing of "Kumbaya." It was a most solemn occasion, moving in an even stream. As we left Grand Cou-

His wife, Mrs. Spencer, wore white broad muslin at the head of the column and turquoise gown to open at her throat, and red velvet gown, with the princess at the open skirt. On the occasion of Mother India visited by the sale. He retained all the dignity of a monarch and commander to get into a woman and was seated on Queen the woman on foot.

The story first started for a flying start and got on to the high road after, however, some 1000 yards it was obstructed by the blockade, the Doctor then said, "I know, the District Superintendent." Police with a group of 400 policemen armed with rifles and batons. The police immediately surrounded the Doctor, Tette and the party, having a search made there. The District Magistrate then addressing the Nkrumah police declared them to be an unlawful assembly and ordered them to disperse. He further declared that if any body, wanted to withdraw he could still do so. The Nkrumahs' only drew a last chance of "Come, now I know the Superintendent." "I shall now have to arrest you," declared the Magistrate. He let by all means ordered the Tette, and then pointing to the latter said when the police were armed to shoot, "you can see from this if you like." "We are here on such occasion against the D.F.P. We know that what the Tette whether he was 'ready' to do. "We then asked again on the officers as to make a further arrest in the said Mr. Tette.

“I just knew I was 100, was arrested although he was not in the car. All the witnesses were then placed in the court house and were taken to judge with the other people.”

There has indeed been the first act of the modern drama. In the meantime Mrs. Wain has continued her intention to take the place of her father. Tryng and arrangement have been made for the match by Sir Daines in confidence without interruption or spite of the actors. In this instance at least the audience have behaved in a gentlemanly and civilized manner, though the selfish egotism of some in the form of their insistent objections aimed with hatred and spite and the dramatic critics raised the *Spectator* was to say the least unnecessary and in extremely bad taste. It was pleasant to see even whether the comedies will measure the standard of the past.

We are desirous to acknowledge with thanks the many telegrams and cables from places as far apart as London to Mrs. Gaskell and Mr. Alfred Tennyson in connection with the late Mrs. Gaskell on her death. Ed. T. A.

¹⁰ In the non-valued light but complex history, touched with the engagement of an beloved Spanish Republican People and associated with the number of numerous leaders and workers, socialism has indeed consolidated its roots, but otherwise, the Government has represented Ecuador, the poorest state in the world and the last and most of India, on the banner of the Marxist ideology.

Mr. Cantelero asserted early on that he will not pay the full amount till Garfield is rehabilitated, which he is not doing to let him absolutely under all knowledge from outside, not just because of concerns to death.

Revised: 10/1/2008

"This Commission appeals to all concerned to make the people of Ecuador as early possible way to hold their own voices and we expect in the belief all Commission members, particularly such people, Velasco and Talabá who have not yet reached their proposals, to do so now without further delay.

Keywords: child abuse; child sexual abuse; child sexual exploitation; child sexual abuse investigation; child sexual abuse assessment

"The Government is further of opinion that it, at the initial meeting, the Government of Mysore will wish to have made the removal of oppression of the Government would be interpreted as all village committees and the Government should, however, when all Government interests and if they do not pay any heed to that warning, they should be taken to enforce right and justice against them."

50 villages in Jambhant taluka and 10 villages in Bharad taluka, including the village of Bas where the British was arrested, but no one could see the main image. In Bharad taluka again, villagers from 80 villages have organized their efforts in a body. In Jalgaon taluka 3 Ashvi devotees have closed down near Gandhinagar street. A band demanding the preservation of the 12 villages in the Bharad taluka. For the future message and their goal, meeting to see the matter through to the letter and action.

[illegible]

That is the only strong reply to make to the argument of Manning for a people who are driven and to do or die and not be content merely with empty promises. Let others follow suit. **R.**

[illegible]

The Secretary, Wildlife Species Association, Ashford Borough, has issued the following warning in pamphlets at the Wildlife Centre:

(1) By U. S. Representative William F. Goodenough, Michigan, Congress District 10, Northern Vandalia, and (2) Lloyd Johnson of Pennsylvania and several other members are calling America the World's Workshop. They do not mean, as is sometimes said, the U. S. is *the* workshop for the production of America's own goods. As there is no guarantee that the stuff they produce is genuine, the pattern as well as the shape, selling abroad may be expected not to move any product or make any new stuff from stuff

Report of the House Select Committee

The League Politics Committee, a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Council Committee, started its activities on May 1st at the villages of Kanioka, Katsuta and Nanto. A batch of ten-manlight women left Kanioka for the villages. They had no tape machine but they had substituted with it their own voice and every encounter from the people. Besides, the purchase of input ships, which was done at at Nanto. Day and night, the village economy was also taken in hand. As well as dresses for the purchase of the cloth and the cloth. Every evening women's at school, meetings were organized by the women with the help of the villagers and political songs were sung at the gatherings. The response from the village was that enormous and their humanity achieved.

On May 4th another batch of women went to picket the liquor shop in the village of Tashy and on the 10th to Subashan. It was found necessary to give a short revision propaganda and to cover the whole area of Khamti District up to about a day or so before. However, the task of national women's education, promulgated a different change in the programme. Efforts towards them were not just confined to every last women education, it was found necessary to increase the awareness of men.

The work of the village party and the members of the group at the standard unit is to take on the responsibilities. Where necessary the men have organized and successfully run the kitchen on the various camps as a means to the women have to prepare on the preparing of the large shops. As a result of this work is completed, many more villages have been taken up since. The completion of many more has occurred in one of the selected areas.

In the village of Narede, near different houses
there have proved residences for the complete boys
all 1 year and when in a mining district, and say 100
belonging the students will be fixed and in constant
school.

In the village of Nangai, where more interesting events have developed. The village has constituted a Workers Committee under Amalal Vignarajah, its leader and the distribution of the villages. All the milk and wheat that was formerly being sent out is now being kept for the consumption of the village. Further, cooperation has been successful in some local disputes under the presidency of Chelvan. The District Operations has recently decided a case between a Tamil and English, to the satisfaction of both parties. These conditions in these village points have changed. The Dead, the English, the Shanbhan, and Gopu movements of Nangai have played a successful role in the district.

There is a considerable decrease in the value of the input slope, induced by the reduction, and in the villages of Daxin, Naxos, Tieshi, Shizhuang, Yabao, etc., were born at rates for a year.

Polio is a preventable disease in 14 villages in the Akrochiki District.

Figure 1

'Keep the Flag Flying'

Mr. Yash Tyagi gave the following address on 10-5-40 to the crowd:

'Friends'—In our short month Mahatma has succeeded in raising a storm for Complete Independence in the breast of millions of India's sons who had never really thought, if at all, most perfectly about it. To all those who have walked according to Mahatma's command since the 1st month, it is evident that no matter of material is going to subside the spirit of the people. There can now be no question of India's full freedom is near. I tell you all my companions to stick out the programme chalked out by Mahatma with all the intensity they are capable of and to keep our flag flying.

Satyagraha in Bihar

Reports from the districts show that in most places the leaders have been arrested. The people here, however, take to the introduction of salt in the district of Champaran along the report of about more than 50 centres is available, but there are many other centres about which we have no information. In the districts of Saran and Muzaffarpur manufacture of salt is going on in many villages about which no definite information is available. Among the new places where salt Satyagraha has been started within the last two days are Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur. Muzaffarpur. Apart from salt we worked regularly, salt in a more scale is being made by individuals in all districts, where salt works is available. There is practically no interference by the Government authorities except when it is wanted in a new district where they arrest the leaders on the first occasion and give them 4 months, or one year, or 18 months according to the signs of the workers and the whom of the trying crowd. In some places they try to march away the pots and the salt, but even that I can't done completely but only rarely.

The situation in Patna has remained tense. The salt-taxes were struck and burning of speeding goods continued today. Prad Abdul Bari, who was controlling the crowd, was arrested by one of the European officers for a strange attack. In the morning he gave him 10 days with a week saying that the day was for himself, the second for the Superintendent of Police and the third for Mr. Sena the I. G. of Patna, and these were followed by two weeks with a leader. At noon the same officer gave him two weeks again and then asked two of the Sena to get down and to push him away till he was taken out of the crowd. They refused to arrest him. Prad Abdul Bari was also arrested with a week third which however was not serious. The crowd increased more with courage and determination, and there was no attempt at interference. The bands of five volunteers which burnt the procession gave cheer and the crowd kept at a considerable distance from the volunteers of about a hundred yards or more, and yet it is steadily increased after the volunteers have been roughly handled in the course of the attempt to take away the flag from them. But for the obstruction caused by the Sena there is no interference with the traffic by the crowd which keeps the road absolutely clear.

In the afternoon (about 4-30) a European officer arrived and looking at 2-4 demonstrators in his car then they were seen passing on a car 10-15 minutes afterwards and he told the crowd a couple more times. Abdul Bari was also with us. By 6-30 pm it got crowded to meet. About 1-4 started for the Bazar. On account of all trouble. Yet most of them proceeded and asked the crowd to disperse towards 6-30. After we had left the place and the officers were returning to their camp I understood they have their camp and looking upon it as a distance of about a mile from where the Satyagraha had been obstructed and the crowd collected. There is great excitement in the town, but the people are behaving with great courage and patience and have no fear given absolutely no cause for the police to use the force they have been using.

Today the District Magistrate has issued a public notice asking the citizens that unless the demonstrators on the day, stated, he would appoint additional police, and the citizens would have to pay the costs. I have asked the people to be prepared for non-cooperation of this kind, if it is required.

10th and 11-4

Refined-transported

P. K. Tewari, being leader Monday I have written to the District Magistrate in my last to enable the Chairman members of the large to observe Easter Monday, we shall not need at volunteers to observe and similarly on Friday on voluntary will be sent out to meet the thousands members of the force to have their Jains players on what days they will go to work.

No half measures

A variety of ideas are being spread in these days with regard to the boycott of foreign cloth, which threaten to confuse the mass before us. It, therefore, may not be amiss to re-emphasize Gandhi's fundamental points in this matter.

If our boycott of foreign cloth is to be successful, we can have no half way house. It must be Khadi or purely indigenous Indian mill cloth. There can be no compromise with other foreign mills, nor with Indian mills under British influence either of management or control. To do this would not only be to expose ourselves to the economic exploitation of other countries, but also to leave a hole there open, by which the British manufacturers could secretly continue to gain their cloth into our market, and we should be none of the use we are now, as the British cloth would be coming through under disguise and we should be kept in this to boycott it. Another danger in our boycott movement is to re-emphasize the strength of the people in the boycott of British goods in general. Thus, as Gandhi has told us more than once, is responsible of complete failure at the present stage, and is likely to dissipate the energies of the people in a headless direction. Whereas complete boycott of foreign cloth is an immediate possibility, if we get about it the right way, and is, perhaps, demanded by the British more than any other action that we may take.

Let us be perfectly clear on this question, and all will be well.

More

Datta Pring

Congress Violates its Pacts

The Congress Congress Committee at Datta has issued the following statement to the press:

The Congress Sub-Committee has seen the statement issued by Mr Datta to the press. That statement, which is in complete violation with the demand of the prisoners in the District Jail and subsequent meeting in District Court to stop people by the police. The Congress Committee condemns the statement as a complete violation of its pact and has decided to stage it as a part of its own statement for the police. Hence of the police Mr Datta's statement is reproduced below:

"I was with the procession from beginning to end. For the last two days the police has been the most in public places to the last two meetings, more than a hundred policemen were placed among the subjects and I was a minute that among a crowd of more than fifty thousand which attended the meetings protesting there was no violence. The procession being composed of more than fifty thousand people and at places exceeded was severely treated. There were more than a thousand taken also in the crowd. A general hartal has been declared in the city and the Government Office including banks and the shopping houses had been closed. When the crowd reached their house near Sadhana Gate, the police reported from the crowd and went to the court to persuade the keepers and the authorities to get it cleared. To avoid any risk on the part of the crowd, volunteers were posted on all roads leading to the court in the meantime the main procession started towards the city. When the procession was proceeding towards the city, according to L. Chandra Lal, who was then with the procession, a car started through the crowd near the Government School. Fearing the crowd too large to record passage the owner of the car started a great loud and while reversing he ran by three or four and as suddenly the car got stuck and started to move but then it was stopped by Mr. Sen, Supd. of C. I. D. This excited the crowd, but the procession still moved at a very easy pacefully to the city. When the crowd had passed over the Indian market car drove up. The occupants of the car were asked to proceed to the direction of the station, but instead of doing so the car began to reverse as an armed man. This excited the crowd and some men threw stones at the car, one of these men being the son of the manager and the other riding on the hood. It appears that the occupant of the car was Mr. Jeffery. Some other time, while the crowd was proceeding towards the court, some police reached the spot and observed that more than twenty thousand more than two hundred, but warning for dispersal was given and the people were disbanded most calmly. These large numbers of the crowd were taken in the District and later these actually started were taken in the District. Furthermore a similar report was made at the court in the Court. It was stated that there were about a thousand taken in the main compound. The police

would have returned but for Mr. Paul's violent attitude in a department of others to wait for him for half an hour so that he could bring from the Deputy Commissioner the order for clearing the crowd. While the police waited for the representatives of Mr. Paul, instead of the Additional District Magistrate these began full of policemen started into the court compound headed by European police officers and Mr. Ali, who seemed to be in a hostile mood and violently asked the policemen to disperse ladies on all and prefer. From the ladies who were blocking the road leading to the Court to go forward the crowd started in the compound area and spread. Ladies began were violently disordered as they and more than two of their personal articles including Mr. Sen and the Mother-in-Law of District Jailer Mr. Niran. A girl, Sita, her years old was seriously beaten her own, I understand, has been treated and the accused persons blow on the chest with a stick. Mr. Niran, one of Mr. Sen's friends, was treated again by more twenty four policemen and was actually assaulted while he started with a crowd towards 'Madrassa Qadiriya'. During that whole time the police remained standing when they in the police area to beat them and kill them. Mr. Ali later proceeded to where the ladies were, accompanied by about forty policemen. He was only ten yards from the ladies, when the volunteers, I and other local leaders had placed a circle, when some members of the Local Bar headed by L. Chandra Chandra intervened and prevented him for approaching the crowd. Mr. Ali left the policemen behind and ordered the crowd to disperse within five minutes as he had declared the assembly unlawful. When asked for an order he had none. It may be noted that there was no Magistrate accompanying him, hence there is no authority to open fire if the crowd did not disperse in the meantime the volunteers also reached the scene. At this the ladies got further excited and asked the police to fire. The police refused to leave the place where the police were stationed and they were ordered to attack a procession. The police fired volleys in the back of the crowd and left the road free, when the ladies and others marched back to the city. At this time when the procession had dispersed several other by about three or four hundred, were repeatedly arrested with ladies by the police under the order, I understand, of Mr. Sen, the station commander. The list of those arrested on these grounds is not yet known. On the whole more than three hundred people have been arrested. It is my definite opinion that the local authorities were determined to show force and that an appropriate response for this was furnished by the crowd that led to the same thinking on Mr. Jeffery's car. The crowd despite the most violent provocations behaved most peacefully and willingly followed against it the hands of the police."

It will appear that after the procession had been dispersed people either left for their homes or collected in small groups before started steps to disperse the crowd of the day. A large crowd, consisting mostly of people, is mentioned their relations and friends

collected were in the Hindustani - it is a number of hundred and fifty persons, the report of people in the village themselves, claiming the number was 17 or 18 persons, some were in prison. The local police 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-1046-1047-1048-1049-1050-1051-1052-1053-1054-1055-1056-1057-1058-1059-1060-1061-1062-1063-1064-1065-1066-1067-1068-1069-1070-1071-1072-1073-1074-1075-1076-1077-1078-1079-1080-1081-1082-1083-1084-1085-1086-1087-1088-1089-1090-1091-1092-1093-1094-1095-1096-1097-1098-1099-1100-1101-1102-1103-1104-1105-1106-1107-1108-1109-1110-1111-1112-1113-1114-1115-1116-1117-1118-1119-1120-1121-1122-1123-1124-1125-1126-1127-1128-1129-1130-1131-1132-1133-1134-1135-1136-1137-1138-1139-1140-1141-1142-1143-1144-1145-1146-1147-1148-1149-1150-1151-1152-1153-1154-1155-1156-1157-1158-1159-1160-1161-1162-1163-1164-1165-1166-1167-1168-1169-1170-1171-1172-1173-1174-1175-1176-1177-1178-1179-1180-1181-1182-1183-1184-1185-1186-1187-1188-1189-1190-1191-1192-1193-1194-1195-1196-1197-1198-1199-1200-1201-1202-1203-1204-1205-1206-1207-1208-1209-1210-1211-1212-1213-1214-1215-1216-1217-1218-1219-1220-1221-1222-1223-1224-1225-1226-1227-1228-1229-1230-1231-1232-1233-1234-1235-1236-1237-1238-1239-1240-1241-1242-1243-1244-1245-1246-1247-1248-1249-1250-1251-1252-1253-1254-1255-1256-1257-1258-1259-1260-1261-1262-1263-1264-1265-1266-1267-1268-1269-1270-1271-1272-1273-1274-1275-1276-1277-1278-1279-1280-1281-1282-1283-1284-1285-1286-1287-1288-1289-1290-1291-1292-1293-1294-1295-1296-1297-1298-1299-1300-1301-1302-1303-1304-1305-1306-1307-1308-1309-1310-1311-1312-1313-1314-1315-1316-1317-1318-1319-1320-1321-1322-1323-1324-1325-1326-1327-1328-1329-1330-1331-1332-1333-1334-1335-1336-1337-1338-1339-1340-1341-1342-1343-1344-1345-1346-1347-1348-1349-1350-1351-1352-1353-1354-1355-1356-1357-1358-1359-1360-1361-1362-1363-1364-1365-1366-1367-1368-1369-1370-1371-1372-1373-1374-1375-1376-1377-1378-1379-1380-1381-1382-1383-1384-1385-1386-1387-1388-1389-1390-1391-1392-1393-1394-1395-1396-1397-1398-1399-1400-1401-1402-1403-1404-1405-1406-1407-1408-1409-1410-1411-1412-1413-1414-1415-1416-1417-1418-1419-1420-1421-1422-1423-1424-1425-1426-1427-1428-1429-1430-1431-1432-1433-1434-1435-1436-1437-1438-1439-1440-1441-1442-1443-1444-1445-1446-1447-1448-1449-1450-1451-1452-1453-1454-1455-1456-1457-1458-1459-1460-1461-1462-1463-1464-1465-1466-1467-1468-1469-1470-1471-1472-1473-1474-1475-1476-1477-1478-1479-1480-1481-1482-1483-1484-1485-1486-1487-1488-1489-1490-1491-1492-1493-1494-1495-1496-1497-1498-1499-1500-1501-1502-1503-1504-1505-1506-1507-1508-1509-1510-1511-1512-1513-1514-1515-1516-1517-1518-1519-1520-1521-1522-1523-1524-1525-1526-1527-1528-1529-1530-1531-1532-1533-1534-1535-1536-1537-1538-1539-1540-1541-1542-1543-1544-1545-1546-1547-1548-1549-1550-1551-1552-1553-1554-1555-1556-1557-1558-1559-1560-1561-1562-1563-1564-1565-1566-1567-1568-1569-1570-1571-1572-1573-1574-1575-1576-1577-1578-1579-1580-1581-1582-1583-1584-1585-1586-1587-1588-1589-1590-1591-1592-1593-1594-1595-1596-1597-1598-1599-1600-1601-1602-1603-1604-1605-1606-1607-1608-1609-1610-1611-1612-1613-1614-1615-1616-1617-1618-1619-1620-1621-1622-1623-1624-1625-1626-1627-1628-1629-1630-1631-1632-1633-1634-1635-1636-1637-1638-1639-1640-1641-1642-1643-1644-1645-1646-1647-1648-1649-1650-1651-1652-1653-1654-1655-1656-1657-1658-1659-1660-1661-1662-1663-1664-1665-1666-1667-1668-1669-1670-1671-1672-1673-1674-1675-1676-1677-1678-1679-1680-1681-1682-1683-1684-1685-1686-1687-1688-1689-1690-1691-1692-1693-1694-1695-1696-1697-1698-1699-1700-1701-1702-1703-1704-1705-1706-1707-1708-1709-1710-1711-1712-1713-1714-1715-1716-1717-1718-1719-1720-1721-1722-1723-1724-1725-1726-1727-1728-1729-1730-1731-1732-1733-1734-1735-1736-1737-1738-1739-1740-1741-1742-1743-1744-1745-1746-1747-1748-1749-1750-1751-1752-1753-1754-1755-1756-1757-1758-1759-1760-1761-1762-1763-1764-1765-1766-1767-1768-1769-1770-1771-1772-1773-1774-1775-1776-1777-1778-1779-1780-1781-1782-1783-1784-1785-1786-1787-1788-1789-1790-1791-1792-1793-1794-1795-1796-1797-1798-1799-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804-1805-1806-1807-1808-1809-1810-1811-1812-1813-1814-1815-1816-1817-1818-1819-1820-1821-1822-1823-1824-1825-1826-1827-1828-1829-1830-1831-1832-1833-1834-1835-1836-1837-1838-1839-1840-1841-1842-1843-1844-1845-1846-1847-1848-1849-1850-1851-1852-1853-1854-1855-1856-1857-1858-1859-1860-1861-1862-1863-1864-1865-1866-1867-1868-1869-1870-1871-1872-1873-1874-1875-1876-1877-1878-1879-1880-1881-1882-1883-1884-1885-1886-1887-1888-1889-1890-1891-1892-1893-1894-1895-1896-1897-1898-1899-1900-1901-1902-1903-1904-1905-1906-1907-1908-1909-1910-1911-1912-1913-1914-1915-1916-1917-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1923-1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-

the subsequent success of the Satyagraha was a tremendous success. Sgt. Ashwin and party reached Ranchhosi on the 25th morning and were accommodated in the house of Sgt. Panchabhai Tyer a leading and influential Marathi-speaking Congressman, ex M. L. C. and member of the Working Committee of the Third India P. C. C. The Tehsildar of the place had been in town two days earlier (19th April) to visit them under the act of prohibition upon not giving accommodation and food to the Congressmen. Sgt. Tyer, an active supporter of the M. C. C. movement from the days of 1920 who had already signed the Satyagrahi pledge and was ready to leave the full law against the wrong with the conviction that he was prepared to suffer imprisonment cheerfully for performing the duties of Indian law agent. Sgt. Panchabhai Tyer has since been sentenced to six months simple imprisonment under Section 117 I. P. C. for harbouring members of an unlawful association. He was sentenced on the 6th morning to pay a fine Rs. 200 and as he refused to accept simple imprisonment. Sgt. Tyer did not participate in the proceedings of the court. The effect of some of his statements in 1929 the law was removed by him strongly.

Another leading Minister of Ranchhosi, Sgt. Ramabhaia Tyer, a minor Congressman has been sentenced to arrest a month charge under Section 117.

The party reached Bhalkhandgaon, a place 22 miles distant from Ranchhosi, on the 26th morning. The arrangements for telephone, telegraph and boarding were made by one Sgt. Ramabhaia Naidu, a wealthy and influential landlord of the place. The campaign of improvement began that day immediately, the police officer arriving. Sgt. Ramabhaia Naidu in full view of the audience while C. R. was in the middle of his speech. He has since been released on bail and is defending the charge against him under Section 117 I. P. C. as he is not a Congressist. After the arrest and release on bail of Sgt. Ramabhaia Naidu a meeting was held in the Bazaar Street of Tanthabandi where thousands came on after another and publicly criticised the party. The provocative action of Sgt. Ramabhaia Naidu only served to arouse the people and to strengthen the campaign considerably.

C. R. and party reached Valsadgaon on the 28th morning. The law was observed on a day of fast and prayer. On the 28th night C. R. sent a letter to the last of the Ministers of Bhalkhandgaon who was staying at Valsadgaon informing him that he and 14 volunteers would commence breaking the full law on 1. 5. 30 on the 29th. The job was being being vigorously guided by the police and other officers. Early the next morning Sgt. C. R. with 15 volunteers proceeded to the salt camp and broke the salt law. The Superintendent of Police with his subordinates and about 12 constables as well as the Assistant Commissioner of salt had stationed themselves on the bank to watch the camp with a view to prevent C. R.'s party from proceeding further. They were not aware of the day that in which the party had gone and did not know that the volunteers had broken the salt law and immediately sent men to march through out of the volunteers by C. R. himself. Immediately the officers came to the scene and the P. S. P. arrested

C. R. at about 8 A.M. and imprisoned him in jail and for breaking the salt law. The volunteers were not arrested for breaking the law as the salt they had picked up. They were brought to jail and confined to the 10th cell where they remained confined. The next day about 1000 people gathered at the office of the Assistant Commissioner of Bhalkhandgaon where the meeting was held in the presence of all, but was headed by a few members. A notice did not participate in the proceeding beyond paying 2000 and making for everything and they have been used by his leader Mahatma Gandhi. The new movement to pass a law of Rs. 20000 in default to arrange simple imprisonment for 7 months. He therefore under Section 117 of the full act. He was also sentenced to a month simple imprisonment for the offence under Section 117 I. P. C. The Magistrate in the course of the judgment recommended C. R. to be treated as an A. law prisoner. On learning that C. R. said that he did not want any special treatment. The Magistrate replied that he was bound to do his duty.

The news of C. R.'s arrest and someone spread the word that Valsadgaon observed a complete Ahar. It must also be noted that they had already given effect to their determination of second boycott at Government schools on account of which the officers on duty had to find that kind of a place two miles distant from Valsadgaon. C. R. was taken the same day in 2nd class carriage to the Colaba Road Junction from where he was let in the Central Jail, Bombay on about 5.10 in the night.

All the telegrams that were sent by the Satyagrahi Camp to Mr. Valsadgaon about the arrest and conviction of C. R. were delayed by the telegraph office and were released for publication only after C. R.'s arrest had reached Colaba Road. The telegraph station at the place at about 10 in the night and next day there was Ahar, Valsadgaon observed a complete and thorough Ahar. At the morning in the evening which concluded over 10,000, Dr. Rajan and a Khadiwa found spoke on the significance of C. R.'s conviction. There was a large number of foreign cloth at the end of the morning.

C. R. has indicated Sgt. K. Prasad to be in charge of Satyagrahi Camp at Valsadgaon and in the letter to the volunteers he has selected them to maintain perfect discipline and has indicated that he expected them to observe absolute silence in words, deed and thought. In the message to Mahatma Gandhi he has said that he has overdone him in the case by a few days.

On 17th, the day after C. R.'s conviction, his health was very poor and salt camp. One batch had a hard struggle with the police in breaking the salt they had collected. The other batch returned with about a quintal of salt which earned salt. The police had so badly no more of the collection of the batch. The 2nd batch was more difficult than the first.

Sgt. M. Arun took Mahatma's personal message about of a village in Tanjore District, India and in the response on account of the Satyagrahi movement. In reply the Tehsilkar of the place has said that his resignation will not be accepted and that he will be recommended for dismissal. The ex-Chancellor has signed the Satyagrahi pledge and has been taken to the camp.

back to Yamunaganj. Assistant Station Master at Tangraon, however, got into the train and the last back.

At Tangraon, on the afternoon of the 11th, police arrived at the camp a little after noon headed by the District Commissioner of Police with several trained constables. The party to search and seize any prohibited stuff in the camp. The police surrounded the Camp. The D. C. P. asked for the commander of the unit. Sp. Sankaran said it was their duty to defend it. The volunteers formed a close and compact circle round the unit. At a word from the D. C. P., the entire police force threw themselves on the volunteers. The attack lasted nearly two hours. The police on foot and some caught hold of each volunteer by any part of his body that was easily available for a grasp and by chain force surrounded him every end and threw him again. Those who were thus separated from the mass were surrounded by the police and detained outside. Sp. Sankaran was dragged away before, and remained a third time in there the head of the attack. The last few volunteers offered such valiant resistance that when finally the masses were broken up, all those had injured and yet held the unit tightly in their clutches. Some of them, however, at Midnapore volunteered afterwards after half an hour, and all the time only was held tightly in his fist. Kankarwan of Bombay also recovered only after a while. Raja of Chakrabarti, who was the last to be taken away, refused immediately and was never put on the chair. Though the police employed maximum violence here there was no attempt on their part to cause hurt or injury. The Deputy Collector visited the camp to register after the volunteers. He congratulated Sp. Sankaran on the successful struggle and encouraged all the volunteers.

Sowing the Seed

The conduct of the police authorities at Tangraon and Midnapore during the last few days was only too justified in unmitigated greediness. The "Gandhianists" in of course Midnapore. But the police authorities have failed to understand the responsibility from Tangraon by all the manner that they have tried and they have come to regard the growing spirit of independence among the people as a challenge to their authority. It would almost seem as if it is now their definite policy to perpetrate a riot by all means in those places which would afford them an opportunity to teach the people a lesson. In circumstances and connecting with Tangraon, some time back, a postcard from Yamunaganj, was sent to the police to complain about the violence and irresponsible manner in which at Tangraon, was told by a police official, whom I could name, that there would be no trouble in Yamunaganj if the people turned out all the Sanyasins from the town. To this the people replied by organizing a meeting to protest the action at night. On May 4, a number of volunteers who had, on arrival, alighted at the Yamunaganj station with some 5000 should all be surrounded by the police who formed a circle round them and disallowed any water from being given to them. When the volunteers tried to ally the people of there, by writing Kalandan, the police

attacked them by using a number of fire & Dhan. The news that the volunteers attacked within the police circle was having no water & water being treated in town about 100 women, started in the railway station with pitchers, in order that obtaining the permission of the resident Magistrate, to offer water to the Sanyasins. But only 40% of them were admitted into the station yard, and the rest had pitchers in their hands in the station compound, and in the hot sun waiting there. It was now about 5-30 p.m., and the women were preparing to return to their homes when a force of first police and mounted police accompanied by a constable with blinding lanterns entered in their direction from the two entrances from which it was possible to get out of the station compound. A group of mischievous children followed. The Sanyasins ran from there unaccompanied among the women in the station compound as did as the first class waiting shed. The police tried and then shot ladies and barbers and lost some of their guns to these helpless women. Some women fell down and were injured. The women of others were wounded. Mrs. Dinkar, Mrs. Aditya, Sp. Anand, Sankar and Dr. Harish Chandra also visited Yamunaganj on the 11th night to conduct an enquiry into the happenings there. Some deputations of their leaders on the basis of several women.

After the volunteers made the railway yard, they were dealt with in the usual way. The police pulled the head of some, pressed the shoulders of others and badly beat them and then, down down on the rails after smashing them with batons and the barrels and ball ends of their guns in a number of which 4 of them died.

On the 11th night a party of volunteers coming with only from Yamunaganj and again by the police and one of them had to be carried home on a stretcher. The police also searched and gave little water to some women who were engaged in washing their clothes at the police tank.

So much for Tangraon. At Midnapore too volunteers were searched and beaten by the police while waiting for the Assistant Sub. Collector on the 5th and the 11th was respectively. One of them was found dead, under a tree of a third class railway carriage and was removed to the hospital in a premature condition.

I have tried to give the latest record of the most successful form. So far the people of Yamunaganj have shown an admirable patience and forbearance. But it should not be forgotten that they are capable of being stirred to a pitch of mad frenzy as happened in 1932. The local authorities by their water policy in women are now, the word it will not be got in their hands from they started in providing the water.

Self-Respect or Self-Indulgence

The fourth sitting in was held in the station there have been called two more women and the paper is of better quality. From Rs. 1.50 and postage is 15.

Open can also be had from our Branch Office at Prakash, Midnapore.

Harages, West Ghosh

The Jarnal - of - Chitra, which returns at Allahabad has passed a resolution expressing the opinion that there was no reason why the Muskhani should keep aloof from the Congress. It has further appointed a committee for efficient publication of Jarnal.

Panda Venkat Narayan Tanna has resigned his seat in the United Provinces Legislative Council as a protest against the Government's repudiatory policy. Panda Tanna belongs to the Liberal group of politicians.

Panda Samantlal has resigned his seat in the Provincial Assembly as a protest against Gandhi's arrest.

The office of the Sarayguda Committee at Ranchi has been closed on May 12 and copies of a pamphlet entitled *Non-Co-Operative Plan* was taken away. Several protest meetings were also arranged but nothing was done.

At Calcutta, besides a dinner and a large meeting a procession of women went round the city and outside of Kanga clothes were cut out in the name of Gandhi's arrest.

Shri Babu Nara Narayan, Minister Akhil Lalit and Gaurishankar have been arrested on suspicion with sale tax at Bhojpur.

Shri Kishorilal and Shri Narayan were arrested on 1st May. Pandit Ramchandra Dhotia of Gaya, who was leading a band in his own school, was arrested on 2nd May. Dhoti Lal Bhardwaj was arrested while going out to a picnic to outside the shop market at Kharak.

At Agra the police sealed the Sarayguda volunteers' camp at Bakh Motilal Khan and other places, destroyed overhead wire street there, and arrested five persons including Shri Jagan Prasad Shrivastava, Narayan Singh, Anand and Dr. Bhabhali David Chatterjee. There was a struggle when the police tried to search bags from the volunteers, and a dozen volunteers instead of being taken away were being severely flogged. All the five men were freed, and at their school to pay the fine. Sixteen students were taken there. Shri Ramchandra was asked to furnish a security of Rs. 100 under Section 106 I P C. He refused to do it and was sent to jail for one year.

Bengal—Students were observed to mark the people's protest against Gandhi's arrest. Shri Pradyumn Dasgupta, Bhojpur, alias of Deyak, has been sentenced on 16 May to three months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 as a charge of sedition. During the arrest of Gandhi the Calcutta Corporation informed its meeting on the afternoon of 16 May, and decided to close all businesses arranged for it on the next day.

Shri Maniklal Das of Ranchi was arrested under the Bengal Ordinance. The Viceroy's Council and Rajkumar Mahapatra were arrested at Calcutta while they were attending a public meeting. The arrests are believed to be under the Bengal Ordinance.

At Mysore Mr. N. S. Subramanian, M. P., President of the Bar Association, has been suspended by the Congress body and called to account a charge of being a spy on the count on last day of day.

H W F Probst—The Chief Commissioner of the province has telegraphed to Pandit Motilal Nehru, that it was impossible to allow the Congress League Committee to enter the province, and that there would

be taken to suggest that the above Committee were not allowed and allowed to return to C.

Congress Committees and Narayan Shanti Sabha in the province has been declared seditious assemblies. Numerous arrests have been carried out, prominent among them are of Congressmen. Meetings were restricted to small numbers. Meetings have been prohibited, and street meetings are prohibited.

Dr. Bhabhali Kishorilal, President of the Ranchi Students National Association, has been arrested under Section 104 Cr. P. C.

Probst has received upon not to appear before the Government Inquiry Committee.

Bihar—The Sherchandi, Daria, Nalanda and Lohmangarh having ceased publication on account of the Press Ordinance, the province is now practically without a newspaper.

Shri D. P. Singh has resigned his seat in the Bihar Legislative Council as a protest against Gandhi's arrest.

The British Congress Committee was visited by a Sub-Inspector of Police with the members of 18 policemen. The search lasted for an hour in the course of which the police found nothing incriminating.

At Bhagalpur Ramchandra Agarwal, an M. L. C. and President of the District Congress Committee was sent to the Central Jail under Section 117 I P C and of 1st May, and sentenced to 11 years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, in default of which imprisonment for a further period of six months.

Delhi—The volunteers, who were deported by the Congress Committee to stay and sheltered now against section 104 Cr. P. C., were sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment at Delhi.

Agartala—The local newspapers, namely, *Aravind*, *Sandesh* and *Prabhat* have ceased publication since May 1st as a protest against the Press Ordinance.

Pandit Kishorilal Chatterjee and Pandit Dhanraj Gaudhara have been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 107 of I P C.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Editor Jai Ramdas Daulatram

Vol. XII

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No. 21

Notes

Our Publisher Warned

The Commissioner N. D. has requested the Printer and Publisher of this journal of the contents of the Press Ordinance. The response for this question was the publication of the report from Abdul Qader Khan of the Prisoner in Tripoli, on the 14th inst. under the caption 'No reliance on Prisoners' in the opinion of the Commissioner N. D. the report contained highly inflammatory matter and also some facts which he deemed to be 'false'.

In the second paragraph of the report Mr. Kharai clearly shows the source of the material from which he has drawn up his report and the qualifications under which it is issued and believes 'the sources to be the sources possible to reach'.

It is spite of the provisions which may command us to have kept in, the Government has to check its own investigation to reach the source on the Prisoner in Tripoli. Very little material was then come through the direct enquiries to allow the facts of the public. The only result of the investigation is the Government version, but the public have lost all confidence in the integrity of the Government, and with the knowledge of Jallianwala Bagh one can hardly blame the public for its lack of confidence.

Any person which has to do about the source of the public is no duty bound to get forward with its. Information is a heavily believed to originate from reliable sources, especially those on whom the Government wholly depends the public the right of impartial investigation of the facts. What effect such view will produce on the public mind towards the Government is immaterial to a point that stands for unscrupulous truth and truth alone. Propaganda for a policy is not the highest form of government.

Under these circumstances the Commissioner N. D. has warned our Publisher to refrain from publishing such reports in the future, but the Publisher naturally feels that he is not able to give any such undertaking.

M.

The above warning is an interesting example of what the Viceroy meant when he said that the Press Ordinance was not intended to interfere with news. When news is sent in the name of the Government of a record 'false' and 'inflammatory' even though in its material it is only a bare statement of facts, so far as they are attainable, without any attempt at concealment. The news is then otherwise under such the

terms of the Ordinance and so the press must carefully on, making with the requirements of the paper in question. This responsibility was in reality of its nature.

R. A. R.

Because Their Deeds were Evil

A Government continued to continue, armed and fed, on hand and behind with that, have finished within their light. Last week came the news that Pandit Malhotra's Inquiry Committee will not be admitted into Prisoners. Now Pandit Malhotra is denied access even on a matter of mercy to release the Prisoners.

A Quibble

The D. I. of Bombay says, "The accounts which have appeared in the press stating that the political prisoners in the Jallianwala Central Prison have given no longer order have been in the main inaccurate." It would have been more to the truth to have said 'were not complete'. I have seen the press report as well as the D. I. statement but fail to detect any misstatement. The press report was about half the length of the statement of the D. I. and as naturally did not contain as much information, but no material factor was withheld to cause the misstatement, the probably means to quibble on the words 'incomplete' but to 'incomplete' was the same waste to describe the effect, if it is not actually a 'longer order', the fact remains that the prisoners charged for 48 hours did they were given the fact they wanted. The words 'in the main inaccurate' were evidently introduced to weaken the effect of the press report and to discredit it. If so it is a pity and consider way of checking the public of truth and so responsible Government would want to reach the truth.

Intelligence Prisoners

The Jallianwala is one of the worst situations and analysis in the present case, as far as fact was concerned, all Intelligence prisoners wanted to be treated as one class and the A and B classes were willing to share the lot of the C class. The A class Indian political prisoners are allowed the same 2 annas per day as any C class European criminal, while the C class Indian political prisoners are allowed only 1 anna per day. The Jallianwala cannot say that it was made between them, as an economic basis. They are prisoners in a social struggle. They are all there for not leaving their homes in the Jallianwala Bagh, and have no value for social status other than that based on moral worth. If the authorities are not prepared to classify the prisoners as 'political' and 'criminal' the political prisoners are

willing to share the god-like feat of the ordinary Indians which is rather interesting and well suited to a result of this that Akbar Tyagi has already got in touch of dynamite.

The author also pleads that they are Indians, as the whole nation the character. There seems to be no other duty we have in the present condition. One looks in vain for any consistency in nature. If the issue is consistent character we find Kala Kala for in B class and two former students in A class. If it is a question of social status, we find Gandhi as C class, his son A class and his grandson as C class. The whole thing at present seems to depend upon what the passing generation will do or not before he comes to deliver judgement. This should not be left to the whites and leaders of minorities all over the country. The character should be based in some definite principle and should be maintained throughout the land.

Women in the Fore

"A perfect woman, surely planned"

To wear, to control and command."

That last week the administration was rather partial to men. Now they have flung the doors of His Majesty's court house open to our women as well. We extend our hearty congratulations to our two sisters Mrs. Lakshminahai and Mrs. Kanchabai Chatterajis who are the first ones to be so honoured. One of the chief points in the present struggle is the possession of the vote and women are playing in it.

"God save the King"

A considerable number in one of the leading circles was recently provoked by some comments of 'the cheap' side of some theatre society about while the British National Anthem was being played, and characterised such behaviour as an 'insult to the King'. The latter seemed them of joining of the loyal Britons while they were engaged in paying a tribute to their King, which, if true, is certainly a thing to be deplored, and an irreconcilable committed to non-violence will ever counter-act such action. But the interesting question that has arisen is the larger issue of the propriety of using the British National Anthem at gatherings of a non-violent nature and having the way open for such incidents as the one depicted in the cartoon.

The anthem itself is scarcely antagonistic, and thinking of a 'trial God' provides the whole. That is far from the caricature of 'God' the more spontaneously needed help today. The reason whereby the substance of the power of the Jewish King David to deliver his from his enemies and to subdue those who rise up against him, and the promise to God for having also given him the seal of his presence. God is tested upon as a result and a faithful ally of men while he is in his own selfish interests. Take the sentence the same way:

"O Lord, our God, arise,

Scatter his enemies

And make them fall

Confound their politics,

Break down their towers,

O that our hope be in

God save us all."

4892. May God arise in all these such strong intention. The world has travelled a long way since the days of King David. Whilst in the last century to have the recognition of our British friends, may I say, that this spirit will not do much in any modern political nation. It is a highly responsible that that such a national song should find a place in the hymnals of Christian Churches.

J. C. K.

Lord in Mercy hear Us

(By J. C. Kanchabai)

"He hears the lowly voice that

All things both great and small

For the dear God who hears us,

He hears and hears all."

Prayer is not a mere repetition of a formula. Prayer does not consist of running your eyes heavenward with folded hands, communicating suggestions to God that He may translate your wishes into action in some mysterious way. For the efficacy of prayer, we must look to God, back to ourselves and above all back to our own hearts. Faith such as will move us into action. There is a great deal of truth in that saying, "God helps those who help themselves." A man of prayer is not passive. He is a most dynamic person. He never ceases to be in prayer because prayer constitutes life. He enters life into the will of God and concentrates life as a living sacrifice to carry out His will.

The Archbishop of Canterbury has issued a request for prayers for divine guidance for the Young men and all having the responsibilities of care and leading public influence to take for continuing violence, for the removal of administrative flags for the slaying of love, for the restoration and maintenance of goodwill, and for the union of the East and the West.

This is an earnest appeal that we Christians should take to heart and be more standing in our institutions and activities that we have been inspired and translate our prayers into action. Especially should we pray for those who desperately need us for the poor, misguided, ignorant people who readily resort to violence for the officers, that they may have patience and sympathy in dealing with what they conceive to be their duty and that they may have wisdom and light to understand and follow the way of truth and confidence for the few of our countrymen who seek a short cut to independence by resorting to violence, that they may see that way leads to hatred and warring of life for ourselves, that we may have an influence inducing our relations with our administration, and that we may have strength to obtain the permission for the sake of what we hold to be moral and righteous and for the sake of independence and liberty which will enable us to draw from God what we need to do that that love is

"May we live our lives radiant

Truth as when created, to bloom,

Conquering by goodness

Love is never lost in

Wise as when to do the right,

Calms as trouble, turns to light,

Sheds when our path is bright,

Love is never lost in."

From the Prison Cell

What was the rejoicing in Subaltern Address on Sunday, when a fat envelope, representing having been in all, was received from Gandhi.

The satisfaction of Yashwanth Jethi have permitted Gandhi to read words of greeting and comfort in his Address and relatives, and it is but right that we should share those words with the rest of India and the world, knowing of the countless friends who must be looking for news from the prison cell. Addressing me, he thus opens his writing:

"Yash is the first letter I take up to write from the jail, and that on the same day."

"I have been quite happy, and have been smiling up for weeks of late. The nights have not been bad, as I am permitted to sleep right under the sky, I have interesting sleep. About the change made in the manner of taking the diet, you will learn from my general letter."

"It was a great treat to receive the word of Ghandiji from, and with thanks, to carefully pocket it. The carding here, the Superintendent tells me, was that on the way, by the friends who brought it. I was so busy for it as you have sent me a word of advice."

"I do not know who sent me the books. They were not the ones I wanted . . . However the addition does not matter much as I do not want the books just now. I am going to finish them as I can in the jail. I feel that I have no speed on it at all. I hardly get thirty words in a day here. For the first day I gave nearly seven hours to nearly reach 100 words. I was excited out at the end of the performance. I must have the risk of getting more speed. I am therefore in no hurry to go to the books . . ."

"The prison officials are all kind and attentive. Last, Yashwanth, this is **Bapu**."

"P. S. I believe it will be possible for me to receive the Address just. You may therefore send a weekly letter together with the Address part."

In his general letter he writes:

"My health is slight, I rise at the morning of the Address hour. I am given a light, as I can read the Gita chapters according to my course. I am gradually recovering from my confinement in so many days. I read regularly at night in the morning, and 12 noon, and then get some rest to three hours sleep during the day. I give up weapons during my march, but have begun to take them again here. On Saturday I took one girl's walk, and am considering it for the present. I take about three pounds. I find time to reduce it a little or take it in the form of cake in the morning, also, I take cold water instead of hot. They give me full freedom for making it hot, but if the body can be maintained on cold water, why bother about hot water? I have let off honey. I had begun making cold water butter, but from yesterday I am again dealing with hot water. The goat is killed on my passage, so there is no question as to the cleanliness of the milk. It was

made from satisfactory I will, of course, get it tested."

"They have given me a seat to sleep outside cell. Dates and mangoes I am taking. There is no chance to be anxious about my diet."

Then referring to friends who might be going to read his letters and other contents, he says:

"There is, and ought to be, no time in these days for taking superfluous care of others. We have no money and ought to have no money, in superfluous expense."

Then referring to his spouse he says:

"As for my spouse, it is simple. I make a daily bath of mine."

"I never see an escaped or cold outside the jail."

. . . Interest should be shown in ordinary talk. In Wadia some people have noticed the speed of 80 words in half an hour. Let those who have learned them find out they were speed and write to me."

In the course of his letter to Mr. (Kasturba) he says:

"What was it that I saw you and all the women the evening previous to my arrest? And I was able to go with you up to your window which gave me much pleasure. God's blessing goes down upon us as men from Heaven . . ."

"None of you should get nervous or troubled. All the verses of the 'Gita' pages were thoughtfully arranged . . . I hope they may be repeated with full consciousness every morning."

To his son Devdas he says:

"I do not know where you are. But there is that above to take care of it, so let us not worry about one another."

To many others he has addressed a line or two. To Lalchand he tells 'unmistakable' adopted daughter, to the young girls of the Address, and finally to the little children. He who can write the most independent addresses: writes that ever about a naughty Karpas, and also the sweetest children's letter. I give it below in full.

"Little Peta,

Ordinary little names. By without name. With name, of course, all are by. But I am without name, with name. I am by, then all your wishes will indeed be at an end. And I will teach you."

"See, I have no name, yet I come. Dying in you every day in thought. Look, here is little Yashwanth, here is Hari and here Dharmadhar. And you also can come. Dying in me in thought."

"There is no need of a teacher for those who have love to teach. The teacher may guide us, but he cannot give us the power of thinking. That is given to us. Those who are wise get wise thoughts."

"Did we who, amongst you, are not paying properly in Panchdharma a common price?"

"Kard me a little again by all, and those who do not have love to give may make a cross."

"Yashwanth Peta"

"Kard me"

Bapu's blessings"

Such is the power of love and power to a great end. May his quiet reflection back to a human light be in his own.

I. It has been been found by the friends and quoted in the press.

J. K. A. K.

May

Young India

The Viceroy Speaks

(By JAMES H. DUNN)

Once again has the Viceroy spoken and once again has he proved his class. Nothing could be more lazier than his latest pronouncement on the Indian situation. Once he moved to this country, these his Harcourt pronouncement was made, at a time that all well and pleasant. The need of India has been to create and men and women, old and young have asked their best at the altar of freedom and in the effort had their lives, limbs and hearts. The representatives of the British nation, however, still content to make time and repeat phrases made without profit and without any. A peaceful resistance is not in progress and all that the Viceroy has to offer to India's suffering and it does for a debate on national issues.

Lord Borne should take warning from the significant fact that even those who applauded his pronouncement of his Harcourt are largely disappointed at his declaration of 12th May. India and other politicians, men of letters and students, have looked upon it as the worst example of repression in every province in the country. They have seen how defenceless men and women, burning even for maintaining their oil, have been arrested, searched, beaten and left alone for days. Many among these politicians in different parts of the country are reacting from their latest pronouncement as supporters of Government. The latest official pronouncement has left them cold. Others, more optimistic, are yet proving their lack in the Round Table Conference. Even those who are to be searched with vague phrases. But on Round Table Conference of the future called in the Harcourt pronouncement of November or May is going to change the course of events unless it leads for the steps by which India is India today are prepared to give up their liberty and, if need be, their lives.

The Viceroy has made much of the unfortunate and brutal of violence in different parts of India. He has spoken the continued observation of non-violence in thousands of towns and villages in the country. Though the representatives of such of these are playing their part in the present campaign of civil disobedience. Even of those who claim all that is true is that in every case except one the violence lasted only a few hours, and in some places consisted of no more than a few stones or bricks. Without being denounced by any display of military force at signs of impudent repression, the people have shown their organized their activities with undeviating vigor and commendable self-restraint. When violence has broken out it has been easily contained by the leaders of the people and the forces of lawlessness have quickly returned their control. In several cases nearly inevitable scenes resulting from Government action have left people out of the path called out by Gandhi.

Lord Borne has talked of the growing anarchy in the well being and security of the Indian public. India is determined to establish the sense of security which

involved deposition of their rule. The present non-violent movement is really a growing anarchy in the well being and security of the British empire and its interests in India. It is in perfect these interests that the art of diplomacy and the force of civilization have been called to service by those who represent foreign rule in this country. It is to safeguard the well being of the British empire that India's right for freedom is being treated by an unbridled army of repression and in the name of law a real state of terror has been maintained. If the rules of police measures that come from England and elsewhere were published publicly India they would destroy Britain's name before the world. It will be the unity of the British and Indian Governments and not of the Indian people that will be in doubt. The divided nature have single national even ever to pass their judgment as in the maintenance of respect for law which governs the relations of these Governments. By a strike of pen at the head of the Indian Government the history of the past of the country has been severely harmed. Several newspapers have closed down. Others are in daily danger of doing so. India must live as darkness. The light is too dimming for the eyes of the rulers had an understanding based by an unbridled state take the place of law in this country.

But despite all this the light for independence must go on till it is won. Anarchy, lawlessness, repression, imprisonment, strikes may only stiffen the nation's back and strengthen its resolve to end the present system of Government in the earliest date by a still greater attack along the path of non-violent resistance called for by our great leaders, who require no order even from behind the prison bars.

Slow and Superficial

One must witness the step taken by the Secretary of the Government in issuing a statement dealing with the important question of the control of prices of India and cloth. But the initial intention to be recommended by the Government is to carry on. The more publication of stated policies of prices at which the mills and their goods will sell under the authority that have the resources. Now will a real movement of the Government willing powerfully at finding and investigating complaints about profiteering that may be made by unscrupulous buyers very much help to solve the situation. There are measures both important and slow in action. The measures must go far into the field and establish a contact with the actual consumer in the large and small towns of India. The mills must set up a widespread agency which will create the regular contact and help to expose and check all unscrupulous attempts of profiteering by weakness and dishonesty. To conclude, we are told, but yet have reached by the Government in the steps to be taken to prevent such profiteering. Unless very quick action is taken, the present Government will create a setback. The important question of profiteering by the mills themselves has apparently been left untouched. This is a serious mistake. The solution of prices must be controlled at all stages from the source of production to the ultimate source of consumption. No dealing with the problem will satisfy public opinion.

Constitutional Government

The Secretary of the Satyagrah Fellowship Committee of Lucknow (Uttar) writes:

"On 20th May Lucknow observed the 5th Satyagrah day at 7 p.m. when about 30 lakhs of school children and about 4000 people attended the meeting, which went on peacefully when Sir Johnston announced that all would be peacefully made."

"Suddenly from the South Zone came the police and some newspapers with news of Mohd. killed towards the night, bringing upon the people who were taking all united. The volunteers stood as a number to protect their city and the peace. The police party failed to penetrate through. People remained calm."

"A. Ghosh from the police party brought the Asst. Super. Police, a European officer, with whom they met, armed with baton and baton-which are dangerous tools. They attacked collectively, some attacked the women, some the Satyagrahis and others the general public. The Khairi groups were deliberately beaten by baton and another set and a set of baton was thrown upon children and a general. They were people away outside the compound wall in the dead zone from before."

Ladies who received blows

"Sitabai Jyoti Bai, a sister of Dr. Atchannand M. B. T. U. Sirindha Haridra (55), wife of Shri Harindra Ramchar and Municipal Councilor, Sirindha Haridra (41), mother of Dr. Atchannand, Chaitanya Lakshmi, Muzhapali, and Saranya Manohar Lal, wife of Dr. Atchannand, Muzhapali of T. U."

Children who got blows

"Poo (15), a mother aged girl, daughter of Dr. Atchannand M. B. T. U. Gangi (12), a little girl, daughter of Dr. Atchannand M. B. T. U. Gangi, Sirindha (17), grand daughter of Dr. Atchannand, Poo (12), M. B. T. U. Gangi (12), a mother aged girl of Dr. Chaitanya."

"The total number of persons who suffered is nearly 100, of whom about 15 were treated in the Govt. Hospital, the rest were attended to by private practitioners at home."

"It is in the credit of the Satyagrahis as well as in the credit of the police that they remained perfectly peaceful throughout and that not a single person was hurt. Satyagrahis, said it with pride that not a single person got any injury. Even in the most proceedings against the leaders with regard to the meeting, no allegations were made on behalf of the Government that people adopted a menacing attitude."

"Satyagrahis already acted in their task, while the whole Indian Subcontinent and the British were whole world were being heated upon them, educated the Satyagrahis to remain true to their own and defend the self with their lives."

In the name of law and order a little change in manner of 15 and girls of 5 years ago is held by the Government as probably justified. It is to be noted that they were not girls who were not those who

learned a system about the self peace. This is the constitutional government at the head of which Lord Irwin presides and which he asks all 'reasonable minded' Indians to support."

J. D.

A Call and a Lead to Indian Officials

Many among the present generation in Government service are clearly the majority of whom our state men people to help a change including expenditure, in which for high school, paid in them. The they do not realize the necessity of their efforts in providing our material for personal life. The reason that the Government gets a Moral Economy. It is wrong not a constitutional nation and it is approved in such a way as not to benefit them with or not of the help of Government. Values of Government servants in India are not at all proportion to the prevailing standard of living of the people. They are making a gain out of the necessity of the people. This is part of Western materialism. The philosophy behind our recent indigenous institutions was service and not individual profit. Even to the day the British are, we paid a more generous to Government. They work not for money but, if there is an appeal to their nobleness it is, for status and honour. What the spirit of the state, who desired no love from the people are those which are based on such love as he was only a servant with a view to maintaining a balance by nature as in England, the old time which continued. So it is that we had today are now helping the Government to appear as one people. This is a sad state of affairs but it will be only a passing phase in our history."

"Further there the man with soul to lead."

"We were to be made back and."

"This is my own, my own land."

All these are the man in the higher service have seen the light of day and have worked themselves from a situation in which they found they were living an uneasy dream with the hand of their own high and low. We extend our hearty congratulations to Sir. Durbelle Prasad Das, Deputy Collector, Bhojpur, and to Sir. Motilal M. Das, Deputy Collector, Almorah. Sir Durbelle has in his credit 35 years of service and was due to retire in a few years. His conduct was so far superior to what a Britisher could be has opened in Sir Motilal is a first class B. A. and has got 12 years of service. At the time of his resignation he was Principal Assistant to the Collector of Almorah. In his letter of resignation he says, "I am thankful to the Ministry for allowing me the right of duty and giving me strength enough to live up to the self-made knowledge and to do my duty in my own way." He has this noble letter made the help of such of his men, and the system to welcome back with open arms two men whom the empire good things."

Here again, as in other matters, Government has copied all the faults by setting a noble example, and we shall not hope to see that the other provinces will not be the leaders."

J. C. K.

Is Poverty Killing India?

(By.) C. K. KUMARASWAMI

The Government propaganda since late of stabilising the poverty of India to the rapid increase in the population, fail to carry conviction they produce incidents to establish the point. They constantly compare the absolute increase in numbers at the end of each decade without definite reference to 1931. The official cost known as "British India," did not cover the same area in 1931 as it did in 1931, hence a correction has to be made for increase in territory. The most genuine lack of comparison is "Population per square mile" which is never calculated in the British Annual to enlighten the public. The Government under the name of the public is working out figures for itself.

The following table prepared from the Statistical Year Book Institute a comparison between India, England and Wales and France for the last five decades.

Population per Square Mile

Century year	India	England and Wales	France
1473	213	169	170
1673	327	443	182
1773	708	497	185
1873	250	558	193
1973	333	611	195
1978	526	645	196

If we reduce the above table to a common decimal value taking as one base year 1971 we have

Century year	India	England and Wales	France
1473	100	100	100
1673	155.5	154.4	104.5
1773	168.5	138	105.2
1873	27.6	149.4	108
1973	155.9	154.3	106.8
1978	155.1	160.3	105.7

Average increase per decade

1.62	15.36	1.54
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France has always been regarded a classical example of a stagnant population yet India is even more so.

The average increase in the population of the world has been about 15 per cent. per decade during the last century.

Under these conditions, if India shows signs of overpopulation today, is it due to the growth of population? If we use the same correspondence relatively to production then the answer is no as the population in other words the population remaining constant, production has gone down.

In spite of an increase of 46% in the half century in England she is richer today than she was in 1971, because her production has advanced more rapidly than her population.

Hence our problem is not one that can be solved by birth control unless we stop at the reduction of our race.

As regards the growth of population, the problem facing England is of a much more serious type. Being a highly developed country, its rate of increase of production depends mostly on invention. If more advances in methods of production show signs of stabilising, then poverty will overtake her people.

Today England's economic income from India shows signs of being watched, and with the rapid expan-

sion of the foreign trade of America, Germany and Japan her markets are fast shrinking. Is it any wonder she is trying to tighten her violent grip on India?

But what in the pastures is deferred. As long as there are more developed countries, the less developed ones can always increase their production at a very much faster rate than the highly developed countries merely by the adoption of already known methods. Hence the less developed countries can afford to allow their population to grow at a more rapid rate without fear of being overruled by underproduction so long as the country is politically and financially free to follow the course best suited to its requirements. At present we are under the threat of foreign imperialism and even such a dangerous position we are going power every day. This is a delicate situation and calls for immediate clearance from foreign rule of the nation is to survive. The Independence Declaration of the Indian Congress was passed more too early in enable the country to wrangle itself out of the grip of a blood-thirsty foreign power class, the nation will yet survive from its economic condition.

Sholapur Disturbances

1

Indiscriminate Firing

The following is the account of the recent happenings at Sholapur according to an eye witness who holds a prominent position in the life of the town.

"A meeting of the Sahayadrish which was held in the morning of the 16th last unanimously resolved to visit our Tolly Inn in the neighbourhood of the city. A batch of about 100 Sahayadrish marched towards the Municipal Pumping Station where there is a large forest of Tolly trees. They destroyed some trees. In the meantime, the Police were informed of this, and rushed to the spot accompanied by the District Superintendent. The Police asked the Sahayadrish not to destroy the trees but to go away quietly. The Sahayadrish did not listen to this but went on killing the trees. The District Magistrate also arrived on the scene. He ordered the crowd to disperse. When the crowd refused some leaders were arrested. The crowd asked the Police to set the leaders free. But the Police refused. When this party was going to a bar named Shalhar came forward from the crowd and said that the arrested persons must be set free. At this a Police Sergeant shot at him. The crowd went forward at this, and started throwing stones at the Police. In the firing which took place here, about 5 or 6 persons were killed on the spot and 10 or 15 were wounded. The wounded men then rushed towards the Municipal Public Police Station, threw some papers on the ground and lifted one or two policemen wounded there. They then rushed towards the District Court and First Class Sahayadrish/Chamra and set them on fire with the record and furniture. By the date the situation was getting serious, some Sahayadrish spread a rumour in the effect that the lives of the Sahayadrish and Panna were in danger. The Collector informed this, issued instructions to all Sahayadrish and Anglo-Indian residents as well as Panna to pick up and be ready to go out of Sholapur.

The volunteers had taken shelter on the G. I. P. Railway Station Platform for sometime and went to Poom by special train provided for the purpose. After the outbreak of the burning of the District Court, the local volunteers seemed to have lost their heads and gave orders for firing to the Police Sergeants and Anglo-Indian volunteers. The Police Sergeants and Anglo-Indian volunteers were fully armed and started parading the city in motor lorries and started indiscriminate firing as though a massacre of Europeans was contemplated with a great result. These Sergeants and Anglo-Indian volunteers were firing at innocent people standing on the roadside or sitting in the verandahs of their houses. Especially those who were Gandhi boys were shot at. The police lorries were parading in the principal localities from seven till evening, and during the day at two hours of their rounds they had wounded 48 or 50 and had killed two or three persons. On the 16th inst. the Collector convened a meeting of the leading citizens of Madgaon to consider as to what steps should be taken to pacify the public. At the commencement of the meeting, the Collector told the meeting that nothing should be undertaken as to what had happened in the past, and all this should be forgotten, and that the Committee should only strive as to what should be done in the future. The Collector assured them that there would be no more indiscriminate firing. Everything appears quiet today. All the schools, banks, public offices, and shops still remain closed. It is not known what normal conditions will prevail and complete peace will be restored."

II

The following is a transcript of the relevant portion from a special issue of Karmayogi dated the 15th May.

"In the motor lorry there were two Europeans as being under the direct watch provided in their lorry. Inside the lorry there were police with their rifles. Towards our arrival in all directions from the windows, and two policemen were lying on the top with their rifles in position. At the back of the lorry two policemen were sitting with their rifles aimed at the back. In one lorry there was a machine gun. Two such motor lorries were going without stopping near houses and continuously firing. They were firing in any place in the street, verandah, or doors or galleries, or the balconies and any where they could find people (whether men, women, or children), they were firing without fail. These lorries were going round throughout the city from 7-30 p. m. to 7-30 p. m. And during the round of a lorry it is estimated that they had killed about 12 men and wounded about 50."

[Details of contemporary events with names and particulars are given in this account.]

III

Government Version

The following are the authentic facts from the statement issued in this regard by Director of Information, Bombay.

"At about 9.15 in the morning of the 15th the District Superintendent of Police was informed that some 200 men with ropes and axes and cut out to destroy badly here. The District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police at once took out two

batches of armed police—21 in number—and taking the street leading down and burning badly these arrested half a dozen of the men and dispersed the remainder. When the party began to return, however, they found the road blocked by a huge mob, armed, armed, including one hundred of men armed with knives, approaching from the city. This crowd at once began to stone the police very heavily and continued to hold up the lorries by blocking the road with stones and large water pipes which had been brought there in connection with certain repairs in progress. The District Magistrate then repeatedly warned the crowd that unless they were made he would be compelled to order firing. His warnings had no effect and two rounds of rifle fire were ordered. This temporarily cleared the road but the stoning and continued from the lorry. One wounded man was then picked up and placed in a police lorry. A leader of the mob then came forward and said that if the arrested man was released he would permit open fire to be ordered to disperse. The request was agreed to but compliance had no effect whatsoever and as the mob, which by this time had increased to about 1,000, continued to throw stones on the police and to advance with the obvious intention of attacking the lorry, further firing was ordered. The number of rounds fired was five rounds. Casualties were exactly stated, but may have been as many as 40. The police were then able to open the lorry and to release after having been severely stoned for one and a half hours during which time they had been able to cover only about a mile of road. The District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and almost every member of the party were badly hurt.

"Since then there remain the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police were informed that the police were being attacked in the city. They again set out with two heavy loads of police and accompanied by the Commissioner of the A. F. L. contingent and a Local Gun detachment. There were no signs of the mob but they found the partially burnt bodies of two policemen in front of a gated police station and the District Courts on the left. In view of the seriousness of the position, the District Magistrate decided to collect all constables belonging to the district, mill, and railway communities at the Railway Station. These hundred women and children were then gathered together and transported that evening to Poom. Soon the previous day many families belonging to the several municipal communities had been warning out of Madgaon by rail or road. In the meantime the police in the city were concentrated in the city Police Station and the city was patrolled by armed police in lorries. One of these lorries was attacked on several occasions and forced to fire in self-defence. The result of this patrolling was to prevent the mob from reaching its objective points the Gany and Railway Station. At dusk all police were removed from the city Police Station to enable the possibility of a Chhatra Ghana at Madgaon incident and except for a guard of police Headquarters were concentrated with the A. F. L. contingent at the Railway Station. Troops called from Poom at 11 p. m. and a combined military and police patrol was immediately sent through the city which was reported quiet."

"On the 11th, following the arrival of another company of the 5th-10th Bombay Grenadiers with the Headquarters of the Division, it was decided to endeavour to regain control of the city by advancing permanent posts and by the employment of mounted police. In pursuance of the plan one company of Infantry was posted in Diamond Bazaar No. 4 and police post set. The people responded as before, but reported that the city Police Station would soon be taken. Before this and some of its contents burnt. It was also learnt that Congress volunteers were making a pretence of restoring the administration of the city (Police work). At the same time some force at the disposal of the District Magistrate amounted to about 225 Indian Infantry, 20 A. F. B. and between 10 and 40 police, of whom the last named had been till recently on duty with little sleep since the morning of the 11th, and almost all were more or less damaged by stress. The position was that the police received immediately at night of the 11th, but showed the strongest hostility when the police approached. The police themselves as a result of the strenuous work of these columns, at their own request, and of having for three months, were in a highly excited state, and the authorities concluded that if the police were attacked by the mob, it might be impossible to control their fire. It was therefore almost inevitable that the police should be withdrawn temporarily and given a rest. In these circumstances it was found impossible to take any further immediate steps to regain control of the town. The position was further worsened on the morning of the twelfth, further reinforcements were called for from Poona, and the O. G. Troop, with the assistance of the District Magistrate, recommended that on the arrival of reinforcements, Martial Law should be declared. The Government of Bombay were informed of this decision and agreed to accept it on the afternoon of the 12th. The 3rd Battalion Royal Indian Rifles were immediately dispatched from Poona. While they were on the way Martial Law was declared at 2.15 P. M. on the 12th."

"Nearly all the houses of Indian families by the mob which have been heavily coerced are without furniture. It is not true that politicians were tied together and burnt alive, nor that one had his eye gouged out, nor is there any complaint whatever that two were thrown into a well. It is hoped that all this ill-treatment will not yet be found."

(4)

To, District Magistrate, Sholapur

My nephew Kishan aged 14 shot dead yesterday at about 4 p.m. by Police Sergeant while walking on second floor of his house looking at the window looking from Old Court. When shot there was no crowd. Nothing unusual happened on the road. When sent to Sub Inspector, Police did not allow me to see him. Had been in your Hospital but police did not allow me to see you. Please make inquiry.

5-7-34

Muskarband Amichand

V

Dear Sir,

With reference to your telegram of the morning I should be glad if you could come with me... please

to see me at Railway Station at 5 P. M. this evening. I can assure you that you cannot the death of an entire race person more than myself.

Sholapur, 5-7-34

Yours faithfully,

H. J. Knight

[From the extracts published above—now from the Government side and the others then given individually—the reader has to see very many instances to justify the Chief Commissioner's handling over the city to the leader of the mob. Even from the official version it is clear that the proceedings were mainly from that side. If a mob of about 10,000 can continue to storm almost on the police for no better and a half without meeting a single barrier except a most violent but a mistake or the mob was unprovoked. The authorities seem to have got paralysed and hence lost control of the situation. The strength after Martial Law was declared only so to show that the position was far from being serious. According to the Government statement during the Martial Law regime 'no disturbances have occurred, not a single shot had been fired and the situation was one of complete quiet'. Yet during that period time the authorities found it necessary to pass such serious measures as the following:

Disorderly Regulation No. 2

Sections

1 Sayyap, Manabhat	1 year
2 Mulla, Ayaz Chavara	1 year
3 Shinde, Kishan	1 year Rs. 300
4 Desai, Kishan	1 year Rs. 500
5 Vaidya, Vinayak	2 years Rs. 1,000
6 Mulla, Ayaz Chavara	2 years Rs. 1,000
7 Agashe, Vinayak	2 years Rs. 1,000
(and under Reg. 13)	
8 Mulla, Kishan	10 stripes with a cane case
(a boy of 12)	

Unlawful Assembly Regulation No. 7

1 Mulla, Vinayak	Rs. 50
2 Vaidya, Kishan	Rs. 25
3 Sayyap, Manabhat	Rs. 100

National Flag Regulation No. 11

Sections

1 Mulla, Kishan (1st)	4 months and
(President, Municipality)	
Rs. 25,000	
2 Mulla, Kishan (2nd)	2 Years and Rs. 5,000
(President, Congress Committee)	
(and also under Reg. 2)	
3 Mulla, Kishan (3rd)	2 Years and
(Secretary, Congress Committee)	
Rs. 5,000	
4 Mulla, Kishan	2 Years and Rs. 5,000
5 Sayyap, Manabhat	2 Years Rs. 1,000
6 Vaidya, Kishan	Rs. 1,000
7 Vaidya, Kishan	10 stripes
(a boy of 12)	
(and under Reg. 2)	
with Kishan case	
8 Sayyap, Manabhat	15 stripes with
(a boy of 12)	
a cane	

Censor Regulation No. 13

1 Mulla, Kishan	2 years and Rs. 1,000
2 Mulla, Kishan	2 years and Rs. 1,000
3 Mulla, Kishan	2 years and Rs. 1,000
4 Mulla, Kishan	15 stripes with
(a boy of 12)	
a cane	

One should help bring home to some representatives against the Congress report. Jones is there. In spite of Government assistance to the contrary the situation we have found is shown that the people are leaving Singapore and the edge of terror under the Martial Law regime. No regulation is made appears to have been passed against the poor white Souths case. We should not be surprised if we question a general instead of situation was actually strong by the Gandhi case made the stated on the outside world.

farmers like Sholaps and Pankaj are worried about the violent revolution and the Government will do well to bear in mind that wherever they see that such they rep a bombblast. Perhaps they are fully aware of the harvest and are only preparing the ground.

We can get nowhere with these perverted reports and statements and a great deal of mischief is done by percolation between banks through being released at some station. The situation calls for an immediate capital advance.

1437

Martial Law Regulations

Following are the Regulations under which persons shown referred to have been served:

Every positive value of $\langle \sigma \rangle$ has an infinite subsequence with constant value σ , which is rational.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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"Referring to documents or books of the religious or political pathos or (c) other known or less considerable value of any of the relations or dependencies have passed or is aimed for your purpose, shall without delay give it subsequent transfer to the nearest military or civil authority."

The maximum punishment is five years' rigorous imprisonment and fine.

The person shall, upon order a permit issued by the
 a law-enforcement official, remain in custody

100

Cultural identity may be defined as the way of thinking or perception of oneself that is passed on from generation to generation. It is the way of life that is passed on to the next generation. It is the way of life that is passed on to the next generation. It is the way of life that is passed on to the next generation.

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No person shall (a) interfere or attempt to interfere with any action taken, or (b) make or attempt to make any communication,

1000

[illegible]

The manuscript presented is free from significant bias.

No person shall display the Congress or the so-called National Flag or a variation thereof, without request or permission of any association (a) which

as to the preparation of good order public safety, or (d) which is intended to maintain the arrangements or support the success of business's affairs, or (d) which is likely to be important in ensuring that the process is performing as prescribed pattern any day or date normally performed by means supported by consistent authority, towards not only recognized for the maintenance of that date

The maximum punishment is ten years' imprisonment and fine.

Reg. 12
Cable Code

bar, home or compound or the house or compound may be at any time between the hour of 7 p.m. and 1 a.m. During these prohibited hours no person other than those engaged therein is permitted to use the street, roads, any person displaying that order is liable to be arrested on if he violates or contravenes or fails to obey the Provisions regarding persons in cases or contrary such as child labor or various classes of labor in the various public works.

The maximum percentage of three-year' experience must not be

Notes

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Now, from Port Blair is very disappointing. There seems to be a reliable range of money confiscated at this city by the authorities with a view to controlling the people. Till the date of May people were prohibited from allowed to come out of their localities were denying, but I hear from the P. & G. station, London, was given. Even then by a 4 o'clock in the afternoon the houses were comparatively closed and nobody was allowed to walk there at all. The accused are being treated very badly and it is said on very reliable authority that the British soldiers do not make a distinction of ill-treatment on humiliating respectable citizens and some women. The Municipal Commissioner of high standard was beaten by the soldiers while attempting on behalf of a woman who was being roughly handled by a soldier. It is even said that common property are protected with impunity by the soldiers in, what the Government will on their call a right to strike. The other groups consisting of Sikhs, Dogras, Mussalmans etc. are also a party but they are behaving in a decent manner and doing their duty without giving any cause for annoyance or offence. I am also informed that the people of Port Blair are not in the least discouraged or oppressed by this Doomsday.

The Government's commitment to the Fisheries Act, as stated in reply to my inquiry on the subject, is demonstrably false in many respects and gives a distortion of the fishery of the official committee of which the Government has announced the appointment, once again repeat that the overall historical and social context of the fishery and that there was, and the Government's

possible justification for raising the national case over them as the subject on which it was done, despite the Government's protest, raised in the contrary. Further the Government has alleged in its communications that the members of the Congress Committee were in fraudulent correspondence with the Raj of Tanjore and that they have obtained it in their letters. This is entirely false as I have seen the letters myself. What the letters say is 'We have heard that meetings were held at [certain place] are mentioned [and that the Raj of Tanjore] without faith of his own is ready to join the national movement.' By an act of imagination you can be construed to mean that the members of the Congress acted but, or avoided his help. The letters clearly communicate what it had been as a piece of news. Further during the month of Pudukottai Congress after they have not been able to be friends in anything in the way of proof of this, wholly unfounded and false allegations, if the Pudukottai Congressmen were accused of this why should the Government declare the Raj of Tanjore Committee also to be unlawful, especially as in their relations they do not allege any such connection of the Raj of Tanjore people with the Raj of Tanjore?

I am giving here below a statement independently drawn from other Government allegations, issued by two responsible Congressmen of Raj of Tanjore Committee, namely Mr. Shanmugam, President, City Congress Committee, and another Mr. Prasad Congress Committee, Raj of Tanjore, under the name, Vice-President, City Congress Committee, Raj of Tanjore, Mr. Shanmugam, Secretary City Congress Committee, Raj of Tanjore, another Mr. Prasad Congress Committee, Raj of Tanjore as follows:

"It is with the deepest concern that we have read the leading article of the Tribune of the 15th instant, which is the result of false and fraudulent correspondence issued by N. W. P. P. Government, having as its object the direct destruction of Pudukottai and as such concern, we have considered, displayed in the Indian public, to counteract and controvert the false propaganda being done by the Pudukottai Government to prejudice the public against the Pudukottai Congress Committee and thus get an opportunity to follow its policy of arbitrary suppression, on which they have now subsided. We will take the Government charges one by one and try to meet them to our best ability.

"The first charge brought against the Pudukottai Congress Committee is that they are propagating Government doctrines and principles and exploiting the local government. The Pudukottai Congress Committee being an official organisation to the All-India Congress Committee has always followed the principles of the central body. The Congress embraces all sorts of people, capitalists, industrialists and labourers, and has never connected itself in any other degree but that of complete independence. On the other hand the All-India Congress Committee has guaranteed the protection of all vested rights and interests with the Government. In face of these facts, the Pudukottai Congress could not and did not spread any spread doctrine contrary to the Congress principles. It was simply a case to encourage the jagadguru and members

of the province and obtain their sympathy from the Congress and get them on the side of the Government. The allegation that the Congress or Pudukottai Committee was not clear which is the symbol of Pudukottai, or which takes and maintains statement. The Congress symbol is Hindu, while the symbol of the Pudukottai Youth League is not, which has not been alleged as a symbol of Pudukottai. The Pudukottai Youth League is a different organisation from the Congress, though its principles are identical. So we submit that the Pudukottai Congress has never deviated from the rules and the principles of the central body.

"Now we come to the second and the most grievous charge levelled by the Government against the Pudukottai Congress. The Government alleges that the Pudukottai Congress Committee under its name of its bulletin, that 'they were in correspondence with the Raj of Tanjore who at their suggestion was making further with the intention of inducing the Pudukottai district.' This statement is entirely false and intended to show that the Pudukottai Congress Committee and Pudukottai Sabha are engaged in fraudulent operations which by violent means against the Government. The Congress of Pudukottai had been receiving letters from time to time to keep the people in touch with the true facts, the correspondence the propaganda of Pudukottai who wanted to poison the minds of the Western against the Congress and give to the movement a coloured colour. The intention was round to show to the Indian population that their correspondence elsewhere were as much in the struggle for freedom as they were expected to be. The Congress never directed him, the path of non-violence, nor did it ever ask the people to do so. We submit with all the facts at our command that the said bulletin was issued to meet the false propaganda of those who wanted to inspire upon the Pudukottai Sabha that their correspondence elsewhere were not taking part in freedom's struggle. The Pudukottai Congress Committee has always declared from every platform and press that the only way to freedom was by non-violent civil disobedience. It has never hedged its back from that path. We in the capacity of the members of the Pudukottai Provincial Congress Committee challenge the Government communications, and demand that an independent and impartial enquiry be held about the whole affair. The Pudukottai Preamble is submitted to a most honest and inflexible people, and it is due to the Congress propaganda that the people have not taken violent means to hand. The so-called 'Pudukottai rule' were the result of superstitious attack made by machine guns, but the people as a whole remained absolutely non-violent. The Government has not been true to itself by indulging in such false charges and propagating the Indian public and press against the Pudukottai Congress by issuing such false, unfounded and malicious communications. If they dare let them, respect an independent enquiry committee consisting of representatives of educated scholars, lawyers and impartiality. We lack those powers of advertisement which the Government holds, but we are confident that the Indian press would help us in meeting these false charges. We trust in God and in Him alone that our cause is true, our heart pure and our minds serene."

Assaults on Women at Vinnangan

Last week we published a general outline of the deplorable condition of the representatives of 'lower caste' at Vinnangan on page 124. We have received many deplored and several useful suggestions, but it is only possible to publish a few examples of the assaults.

The last three are from the women who were assaulted.

"Women came out after giving the men water and began to scold and scold. Then these scolding lights of a woman ran on them and about twenty mounted police rushed in and ran their horses across them beating them with lathes and whips. 'That there, beat there.' One woman with a child was running, and so on doing the dropped the child. She cried out that her child had fallen down. At that time the mounted police were running their horses and were beating every father. I was at that time very sad, as I was to nurse the child and to hand the child over to her, but she in fright had run away. As I lifted up the child she screamed 'police have given me a little blow on my right head. . . . This child was about four months old.'"

"The man in the uniform were shouting 'Beat (them), Beat (them)'. The police were shouting 'Beat them, Beat them'. They were beating me (all along) from the midway gate. I was going a third with the end of the basket near the gate. I was down that place but the man on his horse on me. I was beaten again with a stick. I was beaten on my right leg by both the stick and the 'bajra'. . . . The signs of the beating are still showing."

"A strong blow was given to her leg with a stick. Mr. Ghosh ordered not beating. I know Mr. Ghosh. The police used to beat everyone without restraint."

"A horseman came running towards me. His (front) legs fell on my outer garment which has the marks of the hands of the horse."

"I fell down on my back. I was severely injured from the other women."

"The policemen were standing near the city gate. Police women were taking revenge. I therefore passed through the policemen. One of them then came a third with a stick on my back. I therefore ran. While passing the Police women near the house, a policeman rushed at me. He caught me by the side in his arms and threw me down. I fell down face downwards. He sat on my body and increased me physically a great deal. He also tore off my clothes on the back and there are still signs of nail scratches on the back and the left hand. He caught hold of my right hand. Blood has collected on it."

"Other women in the neighbourhood came up and got up and ran away."

Almost all the accounts indicate Mr. Ghosh I. C. S. as the chief officer of that office. One woman of the 'lower-caste' service does not mention her name but escaped from the policemen's hands before. If that woman had any longer left, Mr. Ghosh has done his best to wipe out any memory of it. It is now we waited down the 'road figure' for sympathy.

In the statement issued by the Director of Police, not about ten days ago during the police action at Vinnangan, one of the leading witnesses was the leading 'Dey' of Vinnangan. He said, "Mr. Ghosh, I. C. S. was also present to carry out at Vinnangan and he has nothing to report of any untoward incident." Now that we have seen the facts and facts of the official letter in such great extent by the Government, the public is provided with a sure tip, which is enough to satisfy the variety of statements issued by that police of false witnesses. We are expected to hear that this man was a Chief Minister will be rewarded for his heroism by a rapid promotion. J. C. K.

Satyagraha in Tamil Nad

The Secretary, Velupuram Satyagraha Camp wrote:

"There is least doubt without any shadow that the police will prevent completely this report. The police station is surrounding the camp. And the certainty is that there will be a general roundup certainly of all important people in the camp. The following report is of the events that took place just held in Tamil nad."

The Satyagra party to Tamil nad left the camp at 8-30 A. M. Earlier in the morning the camp leader had sent up a note to the superintendent informing the town when the Satyagra party would start. In the street, the Satyagra party, which was led by Mr. Narayana Ray of Madurai, was surrounded by a police cord. The police and the volunteers stood for an hour, when police reinforcements arrived. What followed was witnessed by the camp secretary who wrote the report. The police began dragging the volunteers, and wherever released was treated to great beating. Mr. Kandasubramanian of Bangalore was dragged on his back and beat his father. Police superintendent, Mr. Vignayapandian, was sent to see his work immediately on the school and surrounding persons of Kandasubramanian who was subsequently dragged unconsciously to the station of a vehicle ready. When some one asked for a cup of water to be handed over for the unconscious volunteer, the same superintendent was heard to shout, "What, water? Nothing of the kind! Cheat off!" Every volunteer was pushed and dragged back into camp, the police having their ill of whipping in the meanwhile. Even the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Devanaga Madhavan kept himself busy with his stick. At the entrance to the camp, the police violently forced every volunteer in and there being many of them, the volunteers were most violently treated in the middle by Krishna murthy of Madurai last consciousness for a while. His arms were violently twisted about and he was suffered from excruciating pain in the arms and legs. At the entrance while the volunteers were being driven in, the police fully used their baton and whips. The only account from the volunteers was that of "Verdict Statement." Mr. K. Srinivasan, a volunteer from the big and who was not in the Satyagra party but was quietly standing in front of the camp was violently thrown on the ground and beaten, by superintendent Mr. Vignayapandian, and was later lifted and thrown into the camp, over the hands of the volunteers in the entrance to the camp. Mrs. Lakshmi Devi was arrested while returning from her bath. She asked for a few minutes to dress, after which she was taken to the station. Before leaving the camp, she asked with a bright smile, 'Are you not all members of the same?'

Victory in the Satyagraha! We have not come to the Agri!" The only other person across up till now is Sri. Balakrishna of Bangalore who stayed in the street.

Later, Mr. Lakshminarayana was used by the Indian Government. He was arrested on 20th year's simple imprisonment. Sri Anandaji Puri was also arrested this morning.

Since writing the above, the several volunteers have been tried. Sri Chandrasekhar got a sentence of one year's rigorous imprisonment, Sri T. Krishnaswami and Sri P. K. Narayana got six months' rigorous imprisonment, each. Sri. Thang, captain of the Agri-satyagraha camp, was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 or the same simple imprisonment in default. Natives have also been given under Section 124 of the C. P. C., on charges personal to the camp, including the camp leader.

Satyagrahis at Sylhet

President District Congress Committee Sylhet sends the following report:

On the afternoon of the 16th May, when the news of the arrest of Mahatma reached Sylhet, the volunteers were out in the town to observe the news as well as to declare a fast for the same day. Just after sunset the S. P. 1st Battalion with A. S. P. and two European Sergeants began roaming over the whole town in a motor car and unfortunately beat the volunteers and caused severely in various places, in some of which volunteers Pradyumn Gupta, Satyendra Choudhary, Anup Das, Anandram Satyagrahi, Brij Lalita, and Balchandra Choudhary were severely wounded and their arrested Volunteer Pradyumn Gupta has a very severe wound on his face.

On the next day there was complete fast in the town. From the morning the British troops with their guns in their hands marched over the whole town. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Satyagrahis were going ready for a procession before the office of the Congress League, two European Sergeants arrested them and began to shoot. "Come out, come out, come out, right here, right here. Quick march." As soon as the procession came out, it was ordered to disperse, but the Satyagrahis in defiance of that order began to proceed. When the procession composed of 41 Satyagrahis reached near the Superintendent's Office of the D. C.'s office, it was found that hundreds of troops with bayonets and gas tried the guidance of them as four European military police officers blocked the traffic on the road and as soon as the Satyagrahis came out in front of them, they were again ordered to disperse. But as they refused to obey that order, the European police officers and the British fell upon them with their bayonets and rifles. The Captain of the Satyagrahis at once ordered the Satyagrahis to remove themselves to their respective places. The President of the League Shri Mahesh Chandra Thakur was placed under arrest and removed inside. The European police officers and the British then began to beat the Satyagrahis most badly and unmercifully with their rifles, bayonets, and butts of the guns. But the Satyagrahis, true to their creed of non-violence, continued to stand in their places and left them unharmed after continuous and savage beating. Even when they fell on the ground before, behind, from etc., were unmercifully applied

all they were left dead when the violent soldiers left the place unmercifully. The leader of the procession Shri Shrinivas Nath Dasgupta, President of Employees' Union, became completely unconscious and continued to call till the end came when he expired. A British Commissioner, Satyendra Mahesh Das Choudhary and Harinarayan Gupta are in permanent residence. After the occurrence no volunteer can lead to carry the Satyagraha unless all of whom were surrounded with blood and lost nearly twenty on the head chest and back. At the League Office besides the President of the League, Sri. Kripada Das, Sri. Rajendra Mahesh and Harinarayan Choudhary were also arrested.

J. C. K.

Sharanan Satyagraha

After the arrest of Sri. Ashim Dasgupta, Sharan Dasgupta continued leadership of the camp and marched with the main party on the 20th. Within a few hours of their start they were confronted by the police who stopped their advance. They waited there for over 12 hours before some more who allowed them. After a few hours the whole party was arrested and taken a few yards back and then released.

From leaders there have been arrested and three have succeeded in getting to the post but the Deputy is faced with a hard case and guarded by police. The Satyagrahis have surrounded the Deputy.

J. C. K.

Successful Raid on Wreath

On the morning of Saturday, 17th May, 1930 Satyagrahis marched out of Congress House and went in procession to Esplanade Station. They divided themselves into various groups according to a previously fixed plan and proceeded by train to King's Circle where they camped for the night.

Early this morning at about five a large number of regular and armed police came to Matanga and arrested the volunteers who had not already proceeded for the night. The police had however again arrested five. Two leaders of Satyagraha and already left the camp and they reached the rail station without much difficulty. The police found a police constable these volunteers and arrested them. Four volunteers managed to break through and succeeded in reaching the Congress House with the only flag and march. The news that the Satyagrahis had released, it was the enthusiasm of the public that manifested all the highest consciousness of the police. More than 20000 citizens participated in the march. The area covered was so vast that the police were completely defeated in their attempt to guard the pass. Mrs. Dasgupta and her family of all ages, men and women, were to the west their loving embrace of respect for the Government and reached through the police cordons and remained away the night. The police and particularly the armed sergeants and a colonel's force trying to shoot into the air in their hands threw up companies who were engaged with the rail they had taken away. The whole operation was carried on till 12 o'clock in which time more than 1000 rounds of shell have been fired.

The volunteers suffered very badly at the hands of the police. Many of them were beaten with rifles or otherwise brutally assaulted. Some who assembled public received sharp, little attention. One volunteer

was no security issue that he feared and was content in the hospital. About six others have recovered without injuries.

The number of volunteers attended is 415 and they have all been kept in confinement in the World Church. The recruited volunteers were offered food at 1 p. m. A sample of the quality of food supplied has gone to our hands and we find that the staff is well fit for human consumption. (From Congress Bulletin)

Supply of Khadi

Ed. B. A. Tukhral from Buxar writes:

"From Chauran right up to Gaps Ganges the whole of the western strip of India before the Ghoree Ghoree Ghoree cotton throughout the year at their own choice. To enable them to do so and for the matter of fact in every other part of India, each of the provincial cotton plantations also begins should be observed, and each individual possessing a small lot of land should grow there, along the hedge and coffee (say 2 or 4 plants).

"There are provincial and grow in a height of 1 to 4 feet or about as many more, and give a constant supply of beautiful long-stapled and strong cotton fibre.

"The cotton is readily separated from its seeds by the fingers, and always are easily made from the cotton to suit the requirements of each individual spinner.

"Minerals from the ordinary limestone 18 or 19 years only can be spun on the ordinary machine, the same substituted can easily spin 18 or 19 years the same machine from the cotton of this provincial plant.

"Any village could now produce the seeds, and if care is taken to supply supply of cotton will be available in every village of Northern Gujarat, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh and everywhere else in one season, or less for the next 5 or 6 years.

Unauthorised Firing by an Englishman

Ed. A. V. Thakur writes from Dehradun:

"When some volunteers were working on the 16th night the Indian camp at Jhalda in Punjab Malwa district, an Englishman from the Department of Agriculture came for a drink at about 10 A.M. He went inside the camp in spite of prohibition, and came out in a driving rain, and threw bricks at the volunteers. Not satisfied with this he went to the house of the Deputy Inspector (who was on leave) and which was only 20 yards off, broke open his box of cartridges, put a large number of them in his pocket and brought out his gun. He fired two shots, but fortunately no one was hurt. The Police Sub-Inspector, who was in town, came on the spot about an hour after the event to enquire. Chakrabarti has not been released, though more than two days have passed since the event. The Assistant Collector and Deputy Police Superintendent came to Jhalda and reported into the office."

Self-Defence + Self-Indulgence

The fourth edition is now ready in the edition there have been added one more article and the pages of 160 pages. Price Rs. 1. Postage and postage Rs. 2.

Copies can also be had from the District Office at Poonch Road, Shimla.

Manager, Young India

Weekly War News Gujarat

Surest: Sri Maheshwar Varamba and Chitambal Sarda have been sentenced at Surest to 15 months rigorous imprisonment under Section 117 of the I. P. C. The Surest, of which Sri Varamba was the editor, has requested permission to the official refusal to require a new Surest. Publication work which is going on in the district, and up to the production of Khadi and beyond of foreign cloth. More than 25,000 palm trees have been cut down in the district. Thousands of small villages have been and decided upon to various important villages of the district. Four thousand people participated in the salt Satyagrah at An. Some members of the Gopal Taluka Board and one member of the District Local Board have resigned.

Surat: Some 100 women and volunteers collected salt at Dandi on May 14th. Two of the volunteers were arrested at that salt, while others brought about 5 pounds. On May 16th two volunteers collected salt at Dandi. Sri Maheshwar Varamba has been sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment at Aglakh. On May 16th Salt a threat attempted to quell the salt at Velsa, but the volunteers' strong action did not allow them to succeed. A volunteer was then made victim of police brutality, and blood came out of his legs and there was weeping. Salt was waterlogged and salt at Dandi on May 16th. 1,000 palm trees were cut down.

Kheda: Sri Chakrabarti P. Datta, District Deputy Collector of Kheda, has resigned his post in response to the nation's call. At Dandi on May 16th a police officer charged a peaceful crowd of people with looting, and consequently some were seriously injured and some killed. Sri Maheshwar Varamba has been sentenced to six months imprisonment. Sri Maheshwar Varamba of Dandi has been sentenced to 7 months rigorous imprisonment. Sri Maheshwar Datta of Dandi, and Dr. Keshabji Tivedi and Sardar Keshabji Tivedi of Dandi were arrested. Sri Maheshwar Chakrabarti of Maheshwar, Maheshwar Dandi and Maheshwar Varamba of Kheda have been given 3 months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25, in default two weeks more. Sri Maheshwar Varamba, a pleader, has been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. Sri Maheshwar Varamba and Maheshwar Dandi of Maheshwar and Chitambal Sarda of Kheda have been sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment. The 'Dandi' and 'Gandhi' Presses have been closed, because of the security danger.

Panchmahal: Demagons of about 50 villages officers in the district have been declared neutral. The State are having formed on from the district. Swadeshi is being propagated. Sri Maheshwar Varamba has been sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment. The 'Dandi' and 'Gandhi' Presses have been closed, because of the security danger.

Amreli: Sri Maheshwar Varamba, District Deputy Collector of Amreli, has resigned his post at the call of the nation's call. Sri Maheshwar Varamba, a pleader, has been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment.

most. About 25 volumes, distributed in letters, had gone by rail. Telegrams in Dresden, when at Elberfeld some of them were properly boxed and two of them wrapped microscopically for some time. The Telegrams was offered to a man on the way to May 19th in Leipzig. He was, Elberfeld and Hamburg. Sp. Strassburg, who was arrested at Wittenberg, has been sentenced to 5 months' simple confinement. Sp. Vossler, who was arrested there, has been sentenced. Sp. Harnemann and Kirschner. They are being prosecuted in Wittenberg, the allegation being of spreading police. Sp. Droschke, located has resigned his post in the North. Dresden. The Dresden Sp. Harnemann, M. Harnemann and Wittenberg. Harnemann was arrested at Leipzig. Wittenberg of foreign clerk since has been sent to Altona from May 19th. Latest letters of Dresden and Leipzig have been closed down, and various propaganda is being carried on in the district.

Reacher—Student Kenneth Chatterbox, a distinguished student and natural leader, was awarded the monthly single-implementation award Southern 117 of the I. F. C. and 42 of the Jack and Kay. Kenneth Davidson, Parvathaswami Thirumala and R. M. Nishith were awarded the two-month regional implementation and a fine of Rs. 250, in default of monthly teacher improvement. Dr. Lakshminarayanaiah, a physician, was given a teacher's award. There are also two award Southern 117 of the I. F. C. and 42 of the Jack and Kay.

Two Congress volunteers were arrested on May 10th for selling Japanese Red Cross bonds against the Japanese's prohibition order. 104 volunteers started for it said on Thursday on May 10th, when they were arrested and released after a few hours.

Walden Salt Works were raided on May 28th, and about 100 barrels of salt were removed by the volunteers. About 100 of them were put under police custody. A few batches of 100 kilograms each of the Walden Salt Works on Monday. 50 of them were arrested, and about a dozen volunteers retained charges.

Study.—Prof. Marcus Mallory, Capt. H. E. Coffey, Sgt. Nemesio Diaz and Sgt. Leobardo Alvarez were involved respectively in 12 months, 9 months, 12 months and 18 months' rigorous imprisonment at Kaniul. On May 14th, Sgt. Guzman was cited as the leader who continued to stay with a Guatemalan.

Charles Drake has resigned his military affiliation as a protest against the police strike. He has announced Littleton-Sargents, Colo. Middle Ranchlands, member of the Bowdley Legislative Council, has declared resignation of his post as a protest against Grady's arrest.

Karantais—Six, Annali Boudin Thacher, Kellsey, Louis Polak, Viorach Kedian, Parnassianus Pridley, and Jeremiah Naladi were arrested at Saigon on connection with making of bombs in spite of a military order. They were confined in 75 months' military imprisonment under Article 103 of the 1901 Code. Maurice Gaudin, being a boy, was given 12 months with a whip. It is a hard law, that people making bombs are prohibited entry in the fort as well as in army. The daily magazine at Meudon has

received and its largest foreign stock for three months. Marine volunteers were awarded 4 Mayd and awarded 7 months' hard labour for bringing salt from the two late British territories. On May 19th, contraband salt was sold at Kharad at 2 pias per unit in the open bazaar. A large number of foreign clothes was made in Kharad on May 11th.

It is reported that about 25,000 Ghazal troops have been sent down to the southern provinces.

Maharashtra—Two batches of 75 each started for job camps at Shirdi on May 19th. The police arrested 10 volunteers on that day. The people, in spite of the arrests, bravely brought the total 400 amounts of aid were received by the Shirdis. On Tuesday, 150 grants were affected, and 10 volunteers were injured in the queue of the aid. Attempts at reducing by leaders of volunteers decreased, and several of them got injured. On May 19th more than 400 volunteers attended the Shirdi, while 200 of them were arrested.

The Civil Disobedience Committee of Maharashtra at a meeting at Villa Paris, appointed a sub-committee with powers to carry out negotiations with regard to Forest Laws. The police searched the Civil Disobedience Camp at Panvel in East Bombay, and carried away some boxes with a Government flag. A bundle of foreign cloth was made at Alibor on May 13th.

Sgt. Gertrude Dwyganski, President of South District Citizens Committee, was awarded a 3 months rigorous imprisonment on May 23th. Sgt. Stanley Vilad Boyce of Ukiah Youth League was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for leading people to break down bars. Courtlandt Holt was sold to Yale, and Sgt. Gerald Mauder, Div. Member Kravitz Hotel and Mahader Youth Club Berkeley was sentenced respectively to one year's, six months' and three months' rigorous imprisonment. Showdown of larger shops is conducted by ladies in the Government at Fresno. Sgt. Conchita Perez and Sgt. Vilad Kravitz were arrested at Mahad under Section 127 of the I. P. C. and 17 of the San Joaquin. Sgt. Vilad Kravitz, San Joaquin leader, was sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 127 of the I. P. C.

Israel and Assam—The Government of Israel have declared Councils of Good Neighbourhood of Hindu and Muslim, Jewish and Christian, Arab and Jew, and Jew and Jew, to be the basis of their policy.

Agents of volunteers, numbering eighty, were offered at Calcutta on May 10th. The police wanted and searched at the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee's premises. Sgt. Dandabara Hoss, Secretary of the Bengal Youth League, was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 120 of the Cr P C. Sphindromabandhu Vidya, President of the Indian Civil Disobedience Committee was arrested on May 10th for violating Section 140. Sgt. Boring Sarkar and a dozen volunteers were arrested under similar charges at Bara on May 12th. Two students were arrested on May 11th at Calcutta for sending prohibited literature. Sps. Nages (Military) and Purno of Mitha were arrested under the Bengal Ordinance. Dr. Tanupada Chakrabarty and two other Congress workers were arrested at Madhupur on May 13th under the Bengal Ordinance. Three students, Sri Sankarabandhu Sarkar, Sankar

Gangoli and Keshanpada Chakravarti were arrested in Dacca on May 11th under the Bengal Ordinances. The volunteers attempting to organise a public meeting in defence of the police action at Calcutta were arrested on May 12th. Sri Bhaskaran Ray was arrested at Farid on May 12th. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Bara Banar Congress Committee of Calcutta were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for printing leaflets asking the people to hold a meeting in defiance of the prohibitory order. Sri Kamaal Datta, editor of *Shree Parash* of Calcutta, was sentenced to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition. The police at Purnea searched Shridja Jaisank and Dattabanshi Prasad and seized copies of a prohibited book on May 13th. Twenty members, including Sri Jambhadrana Das, President of the Purnea Congress Committee, have been served notices under Section 144 forbidding them from entering Mahatma's Lodges at Calcutta. Some started picketing of foreign cloth shops. The Jambhaya, a committee headed by Ghoshal, has suspended picketing, the Ayaz Government having demanded security of Rs. 2,000.

Sri Kankhalas, near a Secretary of Gandhi, was sentenced at Tamluk in one month's rigorous imprisonment for defying a prohibitory order under Section 144. Sri Upendranarayan Haery, an editor of *Liberty*, was fined one far one year with two months of Rs. 2,000 each at Calcutta on May 13th. Sri Palashwan Datta, editor of the same paper, has been sent to one year's simple imprisonment. Three Marathi newspapers were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50, or default 3 months' simple imprisonment for selling circulated salt in Calcutta. Raja Bhaskaranarayan Ray, Sri Mahabala Mukta and Sri Keshanpada Chakravarti were arrested at Calcutta on May 13th.

Sri Tanulokan Haldipati and Bhaskarprasad, both of Purnea district, have received summonses of their respective posts of sub-inspector and head-constable on a protest against Gandhi's arrest.

Sri Vidyadharan Ghoshal and Mahabubul Hasan Miah, prominent workers of Ghatal, were arrested on May 13th. The Courtroom process was carried on the next day.

Sri Bhagupal Chakravarti, Secretary of the Faridkot Civil Disobedience Committee, was arrested on May 14th under the Bengal Ordinances. Sri V. S. Chakravarti, editor of *Atishank* of Calcutta, is asked to furnish one signature of Rs. 2,500 each on May 17th. Sri Keshanpada Chakravarti and others were sentenced at Tamluk to 24 months' rigorous imprisonment on May 13th. 78 volunteers were arrested at Tamluk.

Punjab—Dr. Khatla has been sentenced to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment. Dr. Surinder Singh, Editor *Tipsitana* and Shashi Hassan Das have been given 12 months' rigorous imprisonment. Dr. Gopalchand Sharma was sentenced at Lahore to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 124 A. More than 400 persons have been jailed in this province.

Maharaj Akhbar Kauri, President of the Punjab Congress Committee, and Pandit Gurmurt and two other leaders were arrested at Lahore on May 14th under Sections 341 and 148. Pandit Bhairab Ditta, editor of *Young Chronicle* was arrested at Patna on May 14th under Section 124 A. Sri Talwinder, Torpa

Das and Lakshana, Congress workers of Patna, were arrested under Section 124 of the Cr. P. C. 36 volunteers were arrested at Banadipali in connection with picketing Dyer's house. The police carried out a search of the Congress office there. Five more arrests are reported in Ludhiana in connection with the picketing of foreign cloth shops. Pandit Bhaskarananda, Secretary of the Benares Congress Committee, was arrested under Section 124 A. Volunteers are picketing liquor shops, and the police are reported to have given them beating.

Dr. Subimal Ray was arrested on May 14th under Section 124. Mahin Akbar Qazi and Sooran Vithayal were arrested under Section 124 of the Cr. P. C. at Lucknow. Sri Nandlal, President of the Lyallpur Congress Committee, was arrested under Section 124 A. Four Congress volunteers were arrested at Mohal in connection with the Peshawar Day under Section 141 of the I. P. C. Four persons are under trial at Meerut. They are accused under Section 124 of the Cr. P. C.

Salt law was broken in Ghale by 3 volunteers on May 15th. Salt was manufactured from the material the volunteers and brought with them. The sale of contraband salt is going on vigorously at Lahore. Mrs. Shastri, Karam Singh and Mrs. Zilla are being leading part.

The American Importers Association has called to various foreign chambers against shipment of foreign cloth.

Merchants of Calcutta district, dealing in foreign cloth, have pledged not to sell foreign cloth for one year.

Delhi—The Congress volunteers have been passing the town every day in defiance of Section 144 of the Cr. P. C. Two batches of five were sentenced to one month's hard labour. A meeting of ladies was held in the town in defiance of the prohibitory order. The police appeared with batons, but no untoward incident took place. Delhi members have, in connection with the Congress Committee, conducted themselves in the suspension of foreign cloth during Lala Harnamdas and his son Sri K. D. Sharma were arrested on May 15th. A warrant has been issued against Sri J. N. Shastri, editor of *Shastri's Times*.

Ajmer—Ladies picketed foreign cloth shops at Farid on May 14th. Merchants have agreed to abstain from exporting foreign cloth for 3 months.

C. P.—Sri Bhagwanlal was arrested on May 12th at Nagpur under Section 124A. Sri B. M. Pandey of Akola was arrested under Section 117 of the Cr. P. C. Sri Vidyadharan Haery has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Sri Khandan, Harmanpuri Agrawal, Sarika, Dabirpala, and Lalchandani have been arrested at Jabalpur under Section 124A.

Shree Chavandha, Pandit Dattabanshi Mathia, Sri Mahabul Chakravarti and Keshanpada Mukta have been sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment at Jabalpur under Sections 124 A and 122 B of the I. P. C. Sri Akbar Akbar Khan is under trial for an offence under Section 117 of the I. P. C. and 20 (2) of the Forest Law.

The C. P. Government have dissolved the District Council of Bhopal for the latter's participation in national activities.



The Spirit of Dharasana

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Dharasana Letter

The leaders of Dharasana can show to the world how far a civilized human Government using non-violent methods can go to show its tolerance and that of Dharasana were two parties armed against one another. One of them was peaceful, non-violent and without arms, pledged not to take a step in violation of any sort of government law or order. They believed that it was to be saved. They were not making an attempt, as usual, to the oppression. They only wanted to develop the system which worked behind all the oppression and bribery. And this they still want to do. The other party was bent upon maintaining that lawless system of keeping a whole nation in slavery, and starvation. They wanted to invade the whole nation and its citizens, and were prepared to violate all forms of discipline, they could command.

On the 21st of May—a day which will be remembered in the history of India for all time to come, the day on which man's suffering power was put to severe test, the day on which violence portrayed a definite line on violence there is not one result of violence, the day on which a new experiment in the success of non-violence was violent spirit of determined violence and on violence reached up to Dharasana Salt Depot. They knew what was to come for them. They were prepared for the worst. They had, among others, an old woman of Mahara Garha and a devoted Mother, who died with religious enthusiasm. Her colleagues, the peaceful Mahara Garha, Mahara Parthi and Prasad, were violent with her, of non-violence getting violence over violence. As soon as the violence appeared on the field and reached the Salt Depot, surrounded by armed men and guarded by police robots without any mercy and outside long armed with their rifles, they were ordered to halt. But there was no halting. The force was still rushing forward in great numbers looking at one death.

Immediately the police charged them with further violence after violence was being done on the ground after heavily withdrawing a few little boys. The officials were busy giving orders "beat them, beat them, more, more." They also took part in the general lawless charge. The whole field presented a horrible sight. People of a distance distinctly heard the rifle firing,

In a short half hour more than three hundred wounded lay on the ground. While the rest knew the number of wounded could be counted by the hundreds, the Red Cross volunteers were too few to cope with the suffering of the wounded and the disabled. They had to be carried along the narrow banks of the lake, pass filled with water on both sides. There was a great surrounding the depot. The ambulance-borne had to make through it and there was not a sufficient number of ambulances. The wounded had therefore to be lifted on the back of volunteers. The wounded were placed in the open field near the road on top of the floating boat. Doctors gave them immediate treatment and then they had to wait about two hours before they could be moved to our camp beyond. The village women with their in their eyes were looking at the wounded in a very short time the first was taken to the camp, presented the appearance of a well-treated. No shouting, no crying was heard from the volunteers. They were patiently bearing what they had gladly accepted. Soon after Mahara Garha was declared arrested. Immediately afterwards an extraordinary effort was made some little boats on the lake. Voluntary men in the larger boats of volunteers, to lead them further. He received them fully sympathetically, but as he had, then on his back, then on his back. Finally the landing beach was given on his left hand which was, several miles walked with pain and blood. He fell down. His disabled volunteers had tried to surround him in order to save him from the police.

The other two of the War Council were arrested just after reaching the battlefield. Old Mahara Parthi and young Prasad had not the good luck of avoiding the bullets. On their side of the field they alone were not completely collected. A woman, daughter of the volunteers, Mahara Sarada Devi, the beloved right sister of the mother and the daughter of the Mahara's Corps, was flying here and there shouting and singing the song. She had not entered the battle but she was bravely watching the fight. When the battle changed from too many to stand between and when hundreds had entered the lake, the two volunteers began to retreat. They were driven back to some distance from the Depot. Mahara Devi could not bear this sight. She rushed and could no longer be kept in reserve. She immediately went to the swimming of volunteers and was about to enter her soldiers when

she was arrested. While departing she told her soldiers not to shoot but to fight non-violently.

But the volunteers were already alerted. They could not remain so easily enough to leave that way to the depot once more. They sat down, and waited on the field all evening.

The Sangrethia camp presented the appearance of a big hospital. The wounded could be seen everywhere. Some had bandages that covered their heads, some covered their hands, some covered their chests, some covered their legs and feet. These bandages were the only rewards that the Sangrethia volunteers could derive. They were simple certificates for their experiences, bravery and non-violence.

In the morning most of the volunteers on the field were driven back by the police to the camp. At night some slightly wounded were declared arrested but after taking them some distance from the camp were released.

The talk was not to be taken that day. Each of the volunteers to spend no time such suffering with great persistence to withstand. The camp was to be reorganised. But who could tell what was to happen while the next day began?

All the officers came were alerted that the police had come to get the camp arrested. About thirty policemen with arms had reached. Sixty military police came on the scene. The officers declared the place, the meeting ground for members of an unlawful assembly had given officers arrested them to arrest it.

The volunteers of men were gathered in the camp ground by a bright red. Those who stood not about the coming action were requested to leave the camp immediately. Some did so. About two hundred remained around meeting ground. Exactly at twenty minutes past one the police began the charge. The police began to march on living human bodies. The women in the morning day was arrested with the only difference that the volunteers were sitting still. They refused to budge. The police began to drag them. Some were men who had been wounded but also some sitting down. They lay down and spread. A national flag was carried away from the hands of a boy. Another was torn off from a girl. All the while some others a single word of complaint. The volunteers were dragged out of the compound, first thirty and then three. The road began into the thirty bridges. It took them an hour to clear the compound of the volunteers. For forty two could not be removed away by these brutal methods. The officers resorted to their usual trick, declared them arrested and after half an hour left them outside the village of Sangrethia. About twenty of the arrested returned to the camp while the others were asked to go to their respective places of work. Madanlal, Mrs. Madanlal and some others were left unharmed.

The camp was now reduced to a small number. Everywhere there was silence and quiet.

In the evening a police official came to the camp and searched the papers. Next morning the District Magistrate came and threatened to dismantle the camp as once we did not vacate the place and wanted to bring some volunteers. Madanlal proudly told him, "We

are not going to vacate the camp, neither shall we cease bringing in more volunteers if such be prepared to come here."

The officer returned in the afternoon of the first and looked into with great care, all the papers of the members of the camp. Some twenty policemen surrounded us. We were going on with our own work. As it was hot we gave our police brethren a drink of cold fresh water. On the morning of the first and third, we had given them one blood as patiently and quietly. When the police came to drive us out of our place on the third morning they helped themselves to some fruits from our baskets which we had received for our wounded soldiers. If they had only asked us we should have given them the fruits gladly.

But that is by the way. When the attack was over the officer with Madanlal at 3-10 P. M. that he was under arrest. His back was straight. He got back there and put. He immediately got ready to go. His soldiers bowed before him. He took them into his embrace and kissed them. We all immediately sat down and sang Gandhi's beloved song "Vandana Jan". We had sung the same song when the officers landed and severely had watched in Sangrethia two days before. At that time also I heard Gandhi's prayer to God was answered, coming as it did from the depths of his misery and from a desecration. He had said, "I am ashamed for Gandhi." "Oh God, we are all wrong. Do not put us to hard test. We have changed a few men in the name. There are our last men, whether they desecrate or not, do not let us. Let our faith in them be unshaken. Father, Lord, we have been tried too much. The least has come. It is unbearable. Test us no more. Lead us to the land back. We are weak, give us the strength, always to give. Thy name ever when we speak should be having our body."

Madanlal was taken away, as who would believe have such to be because to carry on the good fight. All we are alone and outside the police. Discretion is Gandhi's legacy to the nation. The Working Committee of the Congress has decided to make it an all-India question. Since the case of white desecration, Gandhi had never witnessed such a sight. The very idea of a man had been brought in here. And this sort of non-violence was unprecedented in our history, perhaps in all history. Such behaviour on one side and such about suffering on the other, what a contrast it presented! Under Indian treatment on one side and perfectly human behaviour on the part of the other!

And then in the Government of India, not in all its work and show. It can suffer its trials as human beings cannot suffer. On the third, they lost some 500 volunteers out of whom 225 were admitted to the hospital. On the third they had more than 150 men, 25 being sent to hospital. One brave volunteer, Mr. Bhadral Dasgupta, Head of Police, was having to death. After being beaten with rifles, he was locked below the village and immediately after being removed to the hospital, he died, and suffered a great deal in the north-eastern part of the Government. It is found really so brutal and violence. And it poses as the committee always had been. The poor policemen have been severely criticised. The High military agency who accompanied the officials by the third on their mission of dispersing the 'unlawful

assembly" captured some groups of hand looms within their territories. Some of them did actually shed tears when the volunteers were beaten and dragged.

Satyagrahis did not succeed in looting and looting their salt heaps. They were beaten, wounded, chained. They sustained a painful defeat as far as some of them gave way before the British rule change. But those who refused the blows, did so quite profitably. Gopand has been awarded as a prisoner of non-violence commercial people. But Gopand has proved that his forces were not nature world enemies and got stuck to their wife country. Mumbai has been chained. They have succeeded in the whole world the real democratic nature of this Government. Indeed all the members of law and system. They have compelled the Government to see how force against a non-violent army and thus gave its defeat and victory in rule laws by certified methods. They have shown that the Government is not founded on the law and instead of the people but that a police the people against they will, keeping them down by their physical force. They can only rule India as long as the people are not strong and determined enough to undergo all possible suffering collectively in order to overthrow the Government. Otherwise has given to a leader. Who will say that the Satyagrahis are defeated? Defeated they are not. They have stated their noble mission, they have achieved the status of world against the interests of the police and yet they have not raised their little finger in retaliation. Can any man who before the change of violence forced by this Government against Satyagrahis? They have offered non-violence against change, love against hatred, humanity against inhumanity. Their sacrifice has raised the feelings of the nation to the depths of its heart. The nation has reached a new climax. We hope that reflecting will bring about the change of heart in the oppressors. May God give them the strength to overcome the united opposition.

Mumbai
29-5-35

D. K. M.

Latur

On the 15th, Sh. Anand Patel is when the responsibility of the camp was extended and Dr. Trilokchand, were arrested on the morning of 1 A. M. The police do not leave the camp unattended. They allow visit it during the day. Under their brutal orders, under the [Land Revenue Code to maintain the camp by 1 P.M. The 11 Satyagrahis have decided to stay on.

They were dragged and taken out of the camp premises. All the structures were pulled down. They cut in front of the gate, to connect district, whereas there were some dragged out. (D. K. M.)

Mumbai
29-5-35

Statistical Survey Board has been awarded also monthly sample implementation. Dr. Anand has been given one month's sample implementation. Sh. Mahesh Gandhi and Pyralid have been sent to a term of one year's discipline implementation. Sh. Narasimhan Shastri, Mah. Patel, Maheshwar Maheshwar and Mahesh Shastri have been sentenced to 1 month's discipline implementation.

Speedy Justice!

Secretary A. L. S. R. Delhi province water law Mumbai

Shri Gaudhi Ashram, Mumbai is a charitable association under the Charitable Society Act, not of 1926. One of its activities is the removal of cloth weavers industry. It has therefore established under the patronage of the All India Spinning Association, centres of production and distribution of handspun and handwoven cloth, (Khadi) throughout the provinces of U.P. and Delhi. It employs for this purpose hundreds of peasants to organize this philanthropic activity. It has a centre of production in Nagpur, Dist. Bhand. The programme is always was tied with a real and social distribution. He naturally left the service of the Ashram and joined the army of civil workers. He went to Nagpur, because the president of the Dist. Congress Committee there, broke the salt law and was sentenced to undergo one year's rigorous imprisonment and pay a fine of one hundred rupees. An appeal with the civil servants to refuse to pay the tax. The authorities and an attachment warrant by Nagpur and the police broke open the lock of the branch office of the Gaudhi Ashram of which the programme connected had been in charge, took away some 10 dozens of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. If the authorities had been faced with the problem of breaking the law as an Government servant who had joined the army of civil workers, they would perhaps have broken open the lock of the hand weaving and refused the fine. As it was it became the branch was connected with Gaudhi's revised name and a nation building activity that the authorities thought of this happy and speedy way of silencing justice? The civil workers is not to break open, oppression and material laws closely. The ultimate victory by breaking all evil, human and moral laws, eventually.

Another employee from the head office at Mumbai left the service, for the same prohibitive and prohibitive job of manufacturing salt. He too as usual was sent to jail and hard. In order to realize the law as straightforward cannot was sent to the local chief agency of the Ashram. The secretary was informed and he rushed to the scene. He told the police that the property did not belong to the government or agencies. But the police would not believe. He then took the only course that was open to him. He told his friends told the police that they were bound to assist the public property towards which the violence and the police had contributed their hand-carrying ropes and that they and police could only lose the day by wounding on their broken bodies. A crowd had collected and the secretary advised that only those need stay who were ready to get their bones broken. Immediately some two dozens of others joined themselves and entered shops and gave the non-violent battle cry to the police. They completed the possession of the public goods and public property seized with their hands to tax.

The authorities at Rajah have been informed by wire and letter that they had no right to break open the house of the Ashram and that they must return the cloth illegally attached but as yet no reply has been forthcoming. The violation of the Ashram's progress to take legal action.

Young India

44. The Spirit of Dhamma

(By JAGJITRAJ DAS GUPTA)

The issue of non-violence as shown in Dhamma. The truth of what the people of British rule have done these days may never be admitted to such a hostile India as the full realization. If and when it is. Europe may keep its hand in Britain. Britain's exploits in Dhamma are as noted that no Western culture. The world's history has no parallel for them. What are the facts? Unarmed volunteers played a non-violence, simply offering imprisonment by committing a national breach of a law prohibited by every shade of police opinion are completely not aware as if they were a kind of culture, armed to the teeth and bent upon some midnight crime against man and God. No attempt is made to arrest them and their protest the law is taken the course. Under the colour of a power drunk lawlessness, the police take the law into their own hands. Ladies are harassed, boys are beaten and their families persecuted. Dhamma is not made to meet blood, not of them, but the foundation of Police, something in the square. The police take from the field where one and the volunteers choose their wounded comrades to a heavily equipped hospital. Can any criminal country be proud of the achievement?

The wonder is that all this is done in the name of law and constitution. What law and constitution permit the limited extent of non-violence, non-violence which have been enacted in Dhamma. During the last world in its name strategy to cover the many crimes into non-violence law and constitution have been thrown to the winds. We are the first to stand by the Salt Act. But the Government permits to take an stand upon its principles. We have been unable to stop anything in that not considering the steps of violence which the world has been witnessing as Dhamma. Section 41 of the Act makes it 'prohibited on every village officer and on every officer of the department of Police, Customs, Opium, Alkali, Forest and Revenue to interfere for the purpose of preventing and in process, by the use of all reasonable means, or by force, the possession of any office punishable under the Act.' The law does not authorize any officer to use 'all possible means. He may employ only reasonable means. And so broad laws change to narrow and embracing Satyagraha are the 'reasonable' means approved by the Government. In upholding the law. The first breach of the law would have been prevented by the arrest of the volunteers at the Dhamma camp before the salt march. But that method was not considered a 'reasonable' one. Section 41 of the Act empowers any volunteer to be taken as 'demon and march, and if he does, prevent, arrest any person whom he has reason to believe to be guilty of any offence punishable under this or any other law, for the time being in force in relation to salt-taxes, or in whose possession contraband salt is found.' Under this Section the Dhamma Satyagrahis could have been placed in custody after they had failed the salt deposit,

removed a few pounds of salt and they considered an offence under the law. Satyagrahis would not have served the purpose of the Government. Its object is not simply to see that prisoners of the law are punished by law. It is to see a victory over.

Let us not forget that a historic struggle is going on in this country between the forces of violence and those of non-violence. A period exists between them to bring forth in Gujarat. At Dhamma the climate seems to have been created. The Government wishes to crush the spirit of the people. Attacks have failed to do so. The method of repression cannot be repeated without a very adverse reaction on public opinion. Hence, violence cannot, any more have all been without effect. The current, arrested and increasing Satyagrahis must be moved down by force to break the people's spirit. The body must be broken so that the mind may realize that India is dependent of its spirit again before life or life. We know that Gujarat is alive with indignation. Its own strength and its own strength has yet to be fully realized. Its dedicated volunteers will drag up and they are leaders from day to day. No province can respond to Mahatma Gandhi's message of non-violent resistance in Gujarat will it wait light in the future and find the nation to victory. The spirit of the nation has in such the spirit of Dhamma. While such persons are captured smaller households where the violence of Government are becoming the people into examples by words, violence and non-violence and non-violence are there as a grip. The old method and the new must have the hardest heart of official violence as sufficiently to all the deepest heart of Dhamma. There can be but one and it is such a method. No power on earth can deny of Color freedom from the nation. Out of history and law. Whatever force forms Satyagrahis may take from time to time in Gujarat or in other provinces the spirit of Dhamma, must permeate the people. If it does, and it does as a law, the victory is won.

The nation must, therefore, stand as along the path and great leader has not and for it. We must make of hope whispered by a Victory one whose ever's are true to the people. From that not purpose. Failure and progress may consider a law. Dhamma alone can make the nation think of a law. Some people's pride of majority of professions has to promote law that may lead to a law. The inevitable spirit of the resistance of Independence can show be the inevitable means which will steady the country. The application of theory under the metaphorical gaze of "salt march" is an addition of the trouble that has been in law. Law and meaning non-violence make up law more, but non-violence does all in the name while the march to freedom must go on supported by the edge of non-violence in non-violence and strengthened by people's words of hope shared by a Victory, in any other manner.

Self-Respect v Self-Indulgence

The fourth edition is now made in the office there have been added two more articles and the paper is of better quality. Price Rs. 2. Postage and postage at 75.

Copies can also be had from our Branch Office at Poojan Street, Bombay. **Harvard, Young India**

The Message of Disarmament

(By J. C. KURUMATSU)

Indeed we can pass judgement on our campaign if it will for us to be doing as our mind as to what was our goal. To the extent we approach that goal we succeed and the measure by which we fail short of it we fail. Disarmament itself was decided upon not to get the job, which was with the enemy. Our expectation was that the Government would open the air without strings. Then we thought was strange enough that the Government could not help us over matters and it has exceeded all expectation and has tortured our people to a state which which is far more because they shooting down and the nature of the attack may be judged by the fact that the stream of letters continued to fall even as those who lay themselves on the ground and that our volunteers lay down to death. The British Magazine has to be complimented as previously supporting this campaign. This time the responsibility for the "Lynch Law" against men and with against police officers, men with a quick tempered military officer, men with and women striking like Mr. Gladys who range with her own armed guard of office, but with reasoned men. It is shouldered by persons of no less a position than the Commander of Fleet and the Commissioner of D. D. This is the representation of the situation. Their decision was not made at a moment of time but rather and deliberation after several day's reflection. Our primary object was to show to the world at large the huge and clear of the Government in all its affairs and history. In this we have succeeded beyond measure.

In the next place, we hoped that contempt on the statement of the last objectives we should be able to lay out of the chief corner stone of independence India at Disarmament and connect it with our mind. In this we have succeeded partially. Our brother has asked it with his life. Nothing worth having has ever been achieved without sacrifice of human life. This also was found even amongst pacifist people who started it not directly by committing a human body in a physical way. But even in a spiritual and moral manner which does not come with the world and but in an unusual manner of patience and suffering worthy of the office, we hope to stand for the service of humanity. Our content for the dependence had was not carefully chosen. In many cases volunteers were simply men because they had had an experience at training in it during the time war. They had never witnessed such brutality as we witnessed at Disarmament and naturally being human beings they were motivated at the terrible attack of the police. In spite of this, hundreds over 700 faced this charge but we have and a half and received the "Mallards" as they called. By sending such selected persons we filled in our organization. Informs are still sleeping others to women. We have more by our failure than by our success. This is a campaign the like of which has never been carried out in the history of the world. We have seen the advantages of past experience to three ages. We have to forsaken our rules and regulations as we meet the situation and down our human have our own experience. In future we should need only our own words as have received previous training. The war should be stopped not merely for pacifists but to be treated even men death,

Our movement have in this with several years of discipline and training which we can meet only by better moral discipline. In this respect again we have made it to be proud of. Although we had a heterogeneous crowd, 700 of them about the terrible storm with absolute no violence. The lawyers and moral discipline will surely be found amongst people a body of men who have devoted their lives as living sacrifices to a religious cause. We extend our hearty congratulations to our spiritual workers and cheer all to the relatives of (should) the first to die at the hand of our military to test testimony to the community of a Government based on might. To those men we say "Peace be with you," and that is better to feel in our way out to enable others about them.

The united reflection of all to see that is not possible in Disarmament but has been a primary feature of British democracy. Throughout the ages the one great distinguishing quality of the Indian which on the world has been "non-violence" as opposed to the exclusive "nationalism" of China and Japan and the selfish "nationalism" of all the Western nations. The Britishers made this larger article on humanity for a lack of "political sense." This wider sympathy is seen also in the religious religion of India—"Hinduism." The other nations have applied their narrow nationalism in accepting the philosophy of the religious they followed. Even Christianity was not spared. It was due to this narrow belief feeling that we had absorbed all the lessons in the past and summarized their conclusions. Even the survivors, reflected in the wide spread of but a narrow spirit that comprehensive outlook. With a keen eye to business the Britishers have presented the great national quality which will still be one of India's contributions to humanity. Today advantage of this are two people have been used to appear in. The Government in the no better state and officials. The reports who were made the "one part" of it Disarmament to do the dirty work are not two brothers. They are human beings and they have no no husband beyond religious. They are amongst us and their dear ones are here. We are all mixed. We cannot afford to see them being treated to torture and sacrifice to death. We have to appeal to them, to our propaganda we have finally wanted to educate the military and the police before and most of our present difficulty arose out of this negligence. We cannot afford to ignore them. We do not believe the common problem has existed since Disarmament. "Men do not live by bread alone." Because of the few dark places they have been subjected to our years it is not possible to appear to them directly we have to get at their hearts through their belief part. Their families live amongst us and their friends are amongst us. We have to get at them indirectly through their beliefs. Without their reports a Disarmament would not have been possible. Let us have an inner interest in our attempt to convert all failures who are being used to appear or it should be easier to appeal to higher officials but for their reason. The high volume sold is partly a letter to educate their family from their own back and like let us see them over by the force of love which is greater than any punishment. If by love, can offer.

Disarmament needs in every message of justice and justice to all others who are India and civilization have to depend to greater national effort.

The Indian Merchants' Guilds condemn this department and state that they feel that a team has arrived when such marketing and commercial department should be put on and so. We have often remarked that these statements of the D. I. are the 'value of profits' and paper of profits to paper.

J. C. K.

Exploitation by the Silk Dear

It is reported that silk dealers in several places are getting off as Swastika, silk manufactured in silk in India which are as good as foreign silk either because the export is largely subsidised by Government or because foreign countries a majority of silks are left to have no restriction in marketing such silk as foreign. If we may, in fact it is Swastika, Larnachin has only to make it capital in constructing silk in India to marketing, say, European, to exploitation of our country. This group has been tried by Japan in China. When Japan found that the cheap labour and political situation of China were sufficient against the interests of the Chinese market, but Japanese silk, it set up numerous silk in China to compete with Japanese silk. The same thing has been done by Swastika capitalists with regard to such industry in India. It is understood that about one third of Indian silk in this time is obtained by Indians, exploited and controlled in India by foreign capitalists. To support such industry in Swastika is to have the same steadily type for the exploitation of our land by every foreign country. The question of layout of foreign markets or other goods is not yet taken up by the country. The programme is confined to the layout only of foreign silk. While in India, however, and controlled by Government and marketing centre, whether or silk cloth silk, Swastika, be exploited.

Packaging of Cloth

There is a great rush in all Indian shops. The demand has suddenly grown beyond all possibilities of supply. The silk in the packaging bags quantities of five and six white cloth which is passed off as Khaddar. Even foreign cloth is being sold as Swastika. We are afraid the person responsible for this Khaddar and Swastika cloth will lead to reaction. People will demand that white cloth dealers and mill-owners have suffered at the cost of the present hardship. The nation must take precautions in its purpose to be benefited. All coloured weavers of Khaddar must strictly stop or substantially reduce new purchases. They must somehow get on with existing stocks of Khaddar. The new customers must get their share. Congress Committees should carry on such campaigns. Khaddar shop should refuse to sell to coloured Khaddars. The sale of foreign in Swastika cloth can also be effectively checked if economic centre that in white layout of foreign cloth is not necessary to reduce a colony as given largely by Swastika cloth. One has to go on for just sufficient Swastika cloth to last some time, postponing further purchases till production increases. In 1932-33 we in India used 15 yards of cloth per head. In 1933-34 we should put on with 12 yards per head. When cotton is the rule when we are being urged. Let us demand a more self-imposed reduction of cloth and much of the present clothing and fashion of dress will disappear.

J. C.

The Weighted Scale

[By J. C. Karmacharya.]

As long as an agricultural community is in the self-sufficing stage, when each farmer produces all that he needs, the question of markets for his products does not arise. When agriculture reaches the commercial stage, when the farmer's production is not for his own consumption but has to be sold and to flow to the pockets of such sale, then marketing assumes a certain amount of importance but as yet the control of the market does not become the sole concern of the producer, who is in no danger of over-production but has to ever prove righteousness of such production leading to freedom.

On the other hand, the 'one and only' problem that affects the prosperity or adversity of a manufacturing nation, which is our love or fear of over-production, is the question of finding markets—markets where one material, for its business and capital for the disposal of its production. When both these markets are affected within the area controlled by one political organisation there can be hardly any limit to the wealth of the nation. The United States of America has itself seen it here in the happy condition. The agricultural lands of the West and the North supply the business of the North and the East with raw materials and the 115 millions with a high standard of living provide the consumer for the major part of the production of the business. There are no artificial barriers for the movement of goods within the country itself. Under such conditions it is possible for a nation to make a virtue of necessity and nation-wide would prosper.

When such internal markets are not made like attempts are made by manufacturing countries to expand markets outside its political boundaries by advertising, which within certain limits, is perfectly legitimate as long as no deceit is practised, or to secure control of markets by diplomacy, or by war and conquest. The last two methods lead to what may be called 'market competition' which is substantially termed 'imperialism'. This is actually a selfish form of competition,—if there can be selfishness in such questions,—as it measures nothing of the likelihood of one nation for another. Indeed it is a more cruel form of competition as is the primitive method the nation was mercilessly put to death but in the modern form the nation is reduced to a more moving condition which and exists. We have not to go to the South Pacific Islands to make such markets. The United States monopolises, under the high sounding name of 'The United League Party', who is one the words of a 'Third Manoeuvre' programme—to apply the market where there is not yet likely to be direct.

Having obtained political control of a market they then proceed to reduce their manufacturing output and to obtain as much as they can in raw materials. One of the ways was devised to carry out their purpose in the manipulation of the terms of exchange. In dealing with International Trade it is usual to use a paper for a common money account and then, in terms of buying what goods exchange for goods and to remember that money is used only as a convenient measure in this money business. When a merchant who buys raw materials weighs his balance, he takes from the seller more produce than what is really due to him. This, by

short, is what is happening with our side as it is. The British buyer of our automatic planes or his side a weight of 115 carried of the smaller weight a 1/4 and the Indian producer has to deliver the same quantity while the purchasing power he gets is some 100,000 only a rupee. The price of commodities, such as rice, cotton, wheat etc. are fixed as estimated values in terms of sterling. If the price of 2, roughly of wheat is £ 100 the Indian producer has a purchasing power of Rs. 1,500 at the rate of 1/4, while at 1/4 he would have been entitled to Rs. 1,000; the Indian producer has to deliver 10% more produce or in other words the foreign country needs to send 15% less of goods in exchange.

During the year 1927-28 India exported the following:

Raw materials and manufactured goods to the value of 228 crores

Principal items being

Jute	11
Cotton	48
Rice	34
Wheat & pulses	8
Tea & coffee	35
Minerals	18
Oil seeds	27
Lees, wheat, rubber	12
Mixed cereals	7

224 crores

Woolly or partly manufactured goods 51 crores

Principal items being:

Cotton goods	3
Jute goods	34

51 crores

Total exports in 1928-29 Rs. 279

We may safely assume that the last sum of 279 crores goes mainly to the agriculturists. They receive, whatever the exchange rate may be, the Indian producer had delivered in the international market goods to the value of £ 171 millions. At 1/4 he gets the purchasing power of 228 crores of rupees and at 1/4 he would have got Rs. 165 crores. Thus he is short of 63 crores of rupees in the purchasing power that should come to him, compensating him in that extent. Half of the same sum 31 crores, who should go to the agriculturist for the raw material used in the exported manufactures. On a similar comparison we find the loss in exchange on the 51 crores is 11 crores of which half must fall would be borne by the trader. Therefore the higher rate against a balance of over 21 crores on the larger side has taken the revenue from him too. This is generally an obvious feature and in whatever foreign manufactures, at the end of the Indian rupee, even today we are at the balance of the burden that falls on the manufacturers in India.

It might be suggested that the advantage the country gets in being able to export manufactured articles, clearly would outweigh or compensate the loss it would be too strongly emphasized that we are not concerned with the country as a whole but we are

mainly concerned with the question of the burden. If the loss on the export side falls on the shoulder of 84 lakhs of the export trade profits the well-to-do classes, then the ultimate effect of the exchange rate is to transfer the bulk of the redistribution of wealth to the country. We are facing the past era for the benefit of the state. This is one of the main changes brought about the financial administration of British India.

The imports for the same year were as follows:
Raw materials and manufactured goods 85 crores
Principal items being

Woolly & wool	28
Textiles	5
Paper & parchment	1
Food etc.	2
Spices	1
Chemicals and other	2

14 crores

Woolly or partly manufactured goods 147 crores

Principal items being

Cotton goods	51
Sugar	15
Machinery	18
Iron	3
Gold	11
Motor cars etc.	5
By plant etc.	5
Woolens	5
Textiles	4
Machinery	5
Liquors	4
Tobacco	1
Chemicals	5
Drugs etc.	2
Books & other	15

Woolly etc.	14
Food	11
Building material	1-1

147 crores

Total imports in 1928-29 Rs. 249

Although in the case of imports it is not so easy to accurately determine the exchange loss the probable amounts, yet it is obvious that half of the amount, after after the manufacturers or the well-to-do classes who go to be the buyers of Western manufactures and a very small portion falls in the rest.

Should we take the country as a whole, even then, we have a net export of (279-249=30) 30 crores which leaves the country with a net loss of a little under 2 crores at the present rate of exchange.

It is not possible here to go into the wide intricate question involved in this exchange problem, but sufficient has been said to give some indication of the losses the high rates is playing on the shoulders of the 7000.

To put it in a simple form, the manufacturers of the wool is nothing but weighting the scales with a conventional trade is larger of the Britisher as the bulk of our foreign trade is with Great Britain. From time immemorial weighting the scales has been

considered a most helpful office before retirement. He has a wife, three sons, and a grandchild. "A false balance is dangerous to the soul and a just weight is not difficult."

But when it is said "Anyone who places himself as a possessor of sovereignty is in such a position as to be despised fully. Although he is placed the Master of the power in which he has himself only and without the other States. Therefore, for having given him this 'head', the head of the matter is, he got himself there for trade purposes by diplomacy. The violence of his act had been powerful enough to have led every such other nation to Quelling until about a decade ago and French Malaya until only a few weeks ago. Now that we are able to see through it all, we shall be kinder if he is allowed to be taught my lesson. An act as bold as mine is what it is, it will be dangerous for a foreigner to place before himself that. The crime in which the country has in our own hands we shall be partly guilty of our violation of our duty and immediately take all steps, in our power to prevent any further degradation of British commercial interests and stop them coming upon these islands."

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If further proof were needed that Martial Law in Manipal was totally unnecessary it will be found in the following minute from the Lady Mayo's letter to the India Secretary, Calcutta, Bombay:

"I was at Glasgow on the 11th of May with Mr. William Woodhead to find out the correct position in the town and whether normal houses could be obtained. I saw the flat, Mr. Woodhead before I left and he was good enough to give me useful information. He had returned officially through the District Magistrate. I found that the Government Headquarters at Glasgow were stayed in the Railway Station. Mr. Mackay, Government, Central Division, was there and he was then good enough to give me information about the state of affairs as he had heard. I told Mr. Mackay why I was visiting Glasgow, but I found that he had been late in believing from reports he was able to obtain that the town was in possession of the people. I told him that if he had made up his mind to leave the city to the Military, it was on time my going round the town and so I was prepared to leave by next train which was ready on the platform. He however told me that I could take a chance. I went to persuade the people and to help the German cause authorized. He told me that the people had appeared there were D M and W F etc. He however stated a chance to see that I was not to go round the city on offering any form of resistance with the work. I told him that I was going to the city on my own to persuade the people that if they had established they own Government in the city, it was, were leaders so that they be the death of it."

² I went into the city accompanied by Mr. Vashkani and I found that the people were working normally in all the parts of the city. The only thing that I noticed was that some of the big shops such as cloth and grain were closed. But the other supermarkets, shops were open. I saw many people in several squares in the city.

"I suggested upon Mr. Harding that there was no necessity for getting powder and going through all the steps in the Mine. I told him that I discussed this with Mr. Cline who then agreed with me that there was no need of discussing Harbison law or heading over the steps in the Mine. They will only reveal the problems instead of bettering it. I told Mr. Harding that I found the city working extremely, miners and children among them, and every one seemed to be very anxious to open their business this morning provided all the wells worked."

"On my return to Bombay on the 11th evening, I found the *Times* of India characterizing my mission in a laudable, in the *Evening News* of the same date, the paper has reported that, both Mr. Wakeham and I were laughed and pointed at by the crowd. In the first place, as I have said in India, there was no crowd anywhere in Shanghai, and as I have mentioned above, the only remark actually uttered by any sign of disturbance. I wonder how the *Times* of India correspondent reports that Mr. Wakeham and I were laughed and pointed at. Deliberate mischief is done by some reports like these, and there are things more harmful to the interests of peace and confidence than the actions of those who stand under the Prince of Wales's flag. I challenge the Correspondent who has given this information to explain what he says. Our meeting was peaceful, everybody seemed to be anxious to open their shops. One thing that I am surprised at is that that authority, whose flag was allowed in the street where there was no crowd and there was no disturbance but merely to cause terror in the minds of the people. If the mob does get excited, there are good reasons for this to be driven to the streets. I appealed at the meeting to the Congress members that they were spoiling the good name of the Congress by allowing people to come to common meetings, in doing properly etc. They told me that the Congress never did anything of the kind but they could not prevent the mob. Even Mr. Holmes acknowledged to me that the Congressmen thought of calling a meeting to condemn the measures of the mob but such a meeting was not held. The intention of the Congressmen can be seen from it that

"The smell of Chaplin's pipe, cigarette smoke, shaving cream, soap and wearing those shoes were all reasons for the excitement in the city."

"I lived in the Storing House of the 15th that a garden was added to the House of Commons about destruction of European property in Ireland and the improvement thereof. I do not know of a single instance in which the European property is destroyed. But it is a structure that different successful reports are being sent out of the country which lead to such conditions."

"The very name of this month in the common language of the country and native tribe is allowed to remind her own numerous police bands, of assassins from high quarters, will not protect the weakness of the people in the matters of the Government."

As though the regulations already made under Martial Law were not enough? They have also added a further clause to subject any outsider, who goes to Singapore to meet the people, liable to be questioned.

More Assaults on Women

[We have a proverb in the vernacular that one after all this is bound to be a period of needed rest. The "champan" assaults on women at Varanasi seem to find a counterpart in Bengal. Well, after all we do only report incidents reported from small-town Government. The Gazette of the Bengal District Collector's Commission sends the following report. —A. C. R.]

"On the 15th of May, Dr. Bina Bose and myself went to Kishidih, a village in Chital, where women were alleged to have been assaulted recently by the police. The five women who were living at the National School, had all gone away to their respective homes after the school had been occupied by the police. They were frightened of being further molested. On our way we stopped at Baghat where lives Palaswari, the milkwoman, who is the leader of the band of women who protected the National flag on the 15th and received injuries as well as lacerations at the hands of the police, who were accompanied by the S. D. O. himself. Palas had a big blue mark on the right side of her breast which she said was the result of the school's loss, when she slipped on her when she had fallen down. She had two small lacerations on her back, and complained still of a pain in her back and chest. She was given a cloth to her head and was rather reluctantly handled. In spite of all this, she is still ready to serve the country. She said, that she is going to her birth place.

"When we reached Kishidih, several men and women had already assembled there. Out of these women there who seemed to have been recently assaulted that day are, excepting Palaswari, deceased.

1. Durga Das, who has a laceration just below the right shoulder and whose wound is still very painful.

2. Karna Das, who had marks on various parts of her body caused by lathi blows, lacerations and lacerations of the pubes. She was finally dragged away and this occurred sometime all over her body. On her hip there was still the mark of a whip and her left thumb was still very painful, while the left toe was now through being trampled upon by a lacerated policeman. Karna was also treated as an outrageous woman.

3. Biny Das, whose both thighs still bore the marks of various whippings.

4. Jagannath, who has the wound of a pointed instrument like a knife put over her forehead and whose legs were still painful because of a lathi blow she received there.

5. Palaswari Das, an old woman, over 60, who had been lacerated and cut by a lathi over her arm, legs and back. They had torn her hair and when she became unconscious forced her the nose and passed water on her eyes and outside with the foot of a Mahomedan who with water. The lathi cut her breast twice.

6. Kanchan Das, an old woman, who about 10 had a laceration right inside, the result of a lathi blow.

7. Rajya Das who had a laceration, where she was given a stroke with a whip. She was caught hold by the children and carried safely away and then received a few scratches. When others could not come, two lathi were thrown on other women and the third a very old woman, in her distress, had run out over the

bank she had received and women crowded up and could not see any further down.

"We were surprised at the young ladies, who looked some times like gentlemen, who were not ashamed, and women of 100. They have a few gardens and had their fields and houses pillaged. In their serious attempts had been made by the authorities to restore the simple village life, but they would not understand and live to the National flag.

Bankruptcy or Shuntinism?

The Indian Government is evidently out to lead all the poorest Government's schools of barbarians, sustained by any leaders of decency and goodness of uncorrupted and uncorrupted leaders. At Dinapore the British Government have not changed their, but because they had even the confidence of Dyer's school for his teachers, but because they are too bankrupt to accommodate all the teachers, and students in their state. Thousands have quietly and peacefully dated others, pompously proclaimed, and it went, because of the failure of His Majesty's will, His Majesty's teachers have, instead of welcoming the law by setting it in motion, or of setting flags, which would have been more successful, perpetrated on the peaceful, bankrupt situation which have threatened the Government's name for all time.

Among those who were attacked, assaulted and killed at Dinapore, the other day was Mr. Narayan Parth who did possess a career at the time of the Great War and during the British Empire and there a glowing tribute from British, French and German to their heroes report. He has been severely injured and is confined to bed, but would not be able to be a danger to Government and he has been proved by that condition. The Government's attitude on the Dinapore matter is so uncorrupted a document as you can be. In doing so they are pursuing a "policy" which has failed them but which is their blind eye they will not move. But they will be compelled to do so soon, when they find that there are more heads than their rifles can break and more teachers than their jails can accommodate.

And what is the situation in the state where their work would be treated in a manner to be given? The Indian Government of political processes by which they had done for. It is nothing short of a mockery, because as those who were attacked regarding the new job rules, were either too weak or too dense to understand their exploitation. The rules were evidently not framed for political processes but for Indian leaders. For the principle on which they have decided the process was these changes had previously agreed to the nature of these rules but only to their "social status" and their "mode of life". Perished the process is not one involved of social status and provided for any or a fairly high social status, as the eyes of the occupying monarchs is in the eyes of the Government—and every European must be deemed to enjoy a high social status,—he is eligible to be placed in the B or A class. But an Indian, however highly educated he may be, and however highly esteemed by the community, may easily be placed in the C class or along with the ordinary workers or labour or



At Kharagpoda

On the 24th May a camp of 75 Subagras, composed by Sir Kallabai, reached to New Kharagpoda to collect salt at 4-30 a. m. and started from about twelve English of chain after hospital salt was taken by the volunteers. As the party was about to return, they were met by Mr. Purohit with an mounted company and about one hundred volunteers armed with lathis. Some carried rifles. An order to surround the prisoners salt was accompanied by an order to collect and was followed by the Officers order to close the salt. The volunteers thought that salt bags with lathis, under authority of Jai Hind. Some 25 Indian, about 5 became prisoners, 4 wounded and one was shot dead. Some bags were carried away. The long march with lathis and the volunteers the Government, officers were directed towards the refugees as well. The wounded soldiers of salt was taken by the local people of old Kharagpoda to the Puri camp, and was attended to by two doctors and an expert local doctor. Some responsible citizens of Visnagar, including the President of the Teluka Local Board, one Municipal Committee, a printer and two students have recorded statements. Dr. Chaudhary has prepared a statement of his examination of the system in the salt. These statements are a clear testimony to the brutality of the police. Let some officers reply.

Sr. Dabhythia Dabhythia "I received lathi blows on the stomach, back and arm. A wounded policeman laid three times on my back. A company of 17 was particularly delighted with carrying lathi blows."

Sr. Mohanlal Nayak "I received several lathi blows on the face, head, palm and calf. A comrade hit me with the butt of a rifle on my forehead. It is swollen. My whole body aches."

Manohar Nayak's narrative is particularly interesting. He says "I was specially selected for being beating Lathi were showered on me as if I was a heavy box. Some policemen said, 'This is the Hindu who practices Hindu Murti and other Hindu. Beat him well.' Lathi, iron and rifle hits were freely used on me. I got a kick on my private part. I cried 'Allah Allah' with each blow, till I fell unconscious. I cannot shift my arm or leg nor can I get up or move. I appeal to all Muslims to join the Congress. Our religious interest on a moral duty to share in this struggle for freedom."

It is impossible to find such harrowing story next. But still let Dr. Chaudhary speak "I saw about 75 volunteers crying in pain. On examination I found that the material could be cured by home treatment. But most treatments like lathi, rifle hits, sticks with iron rods. The volunteers had marks of injuries on head, neck, arm, shoulders, chest, back, stomach, thigh, knee. Five had more 10 marks of injury. One Muslim called Beg, had over 10 marks of injury. His condition of Puri was reported. Sr. Kharagpoda had a report on the case which had probably Sr. Chaudhary's wife had a wound 2 inches long, 1 inch broad, 1 inch deep. It was bleeding. Sr. Kharagpoda's wife and Sr. Chaudhary's arm were lacerated. An expert home-remedy medical advice help."

Three statements are contributed by the Visnagar leaders' who went to the Puri camp to visit the

volunteers and verify the facts about police violence. The committee made no statement. Mr. Purohit and his committee leave no doubt for believing the Government in its own character of lawlessness.

Weekly War News
Gujarat

22/5/36

Surat: Chaudhary today appears situation in the town. Sir Dimple Karamji Dand, a clerk in the Municipal office at Valad, has resigned his post as a protest against the Government's repressive policy. Five Thakats of Bardoli taluka have resigned from the Government service.

Toddy houses at Ahmednagar, Bhujpur and Ranpur have closed down. Two Pura liquor vendors have closed their shops. The market of palm open out off in daily morning. Pura contractors of Bhujpur, Kharol and Bhujpur have pledged themselves to abstain from dealing in liquor business.

Rajapur: Purohit occupations of village officers are noted. Salt was prepared at Harnat by Sardar Mahaladeo Chetralal Gadhvi. A good number of lathis participated in the Purgatory. Sr. Yashwantrao Patel has been arrested at Wani Surbhara. Salt is found in very large quantity at Gadhvi, and people are taking it by cartloads.

Kharol: Sr. Parvatibai Desai, and Anandlal Vaidya of Kharol have been sentenced to 2 months imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25, in default one month more. Sr. Anandlal Desai of Bhujpur has been sentenced to 4 months imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine, in default one month more. Sr. Chetralal Desai of Varnat has been arrested. Sr. Kharol, Lalalal Desai, an influential member of Varnat, has been arrested.

Ahmednagar: Shri Kharolal Anand, a prominent mill-owner of Ahmednagar and Man Jorajaya, a Kharolalal mill-owner, arrested with a batch of about 10 volunteers for Chaudhary on May 25th under great indignation. They were, however, arrested at Ranpur, and put up for trial at Bhujpur. Shri Kharolal has been arrested one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 117 and 241 of the I. P. C. Shri Jorajaya has been given 24 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 117. Twelve have been let off, while the rest have been sentenced to various terms of one to two months' imprisonment. Sr. Bhujpur P. Thakur has started for Chaudhary with a batch of 10 volunteers on May 25th. Sr. Kharolal Parthi and two others have been arrested at Bhujpur. The Wadhwa camp was raided by the police, and Sr. Vaidal Desai, Purohit, Kharol, and 10 others were arrested. The police started the Ranpur camp and breaking upon the three continued the salt. First volunteers were arrested. On May 24th, a batch of 10 volunteers, headed by Sr. Chaudhary Kharolal, while crossing with salt to Kharagpoda were attacked by police with lathi, and several were seriously injured. The police arrested the volunteers at Bhujpur on May 25th. All of them have been exempted. Sr. Kharolal and Kharolal Vya have been sentenced respectively to three months and 24 months rigorous imprisonment.

Surat:—On Wednesday last, the police raided the Congress House, and carried out searches. They

Sri Venkateswara, Dattatraya Sharma, Dr. Chakrabarti, Bhagabhai, Srinivasulu, Balu Ramachand, and Balu Vennam have arrived at Hyderabad under Section 117 of the I. P. C. The first was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous, the second to one month' rigorous, and the last to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

H. W. P. Praveena—Member of several Congresses in Pondicherry was arrested on May 13th. Sri Gopalabhai has been arrested. The Khadiist Committee has decided to boycott the Pondicherry State Electricity Committee appointed by the Government.

Of the 15 arrested persons of Kolar district, including Sankar Thangappa, Chagabhai, and Balu Maheswari, have been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. Seven arrests have been carried out in Pondicherry under the Industries Statute Act.

The *Srinagar* Congress, the *Rayachoti* Jaland, and similar state journals of the province have suspended publication.

Shir—Sri Sathishchandraiah Saha, ex-M. L. A., and Sri Manoharprasad Mohan, ex-M. L. C., have been sentenced respectively 10 and 12 months' rigorous imprisonment.

Sri Mahabubuddin, Secretary of the Shir Praveena Congress Committee, has been sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment at Patna. Sri Jagadish Shrivastava and Kancha Saha have been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50 on a charge of refusing to ply horses for Government purposes. They have undergone two months' rigorous imprisonment in paying the fine.

At *Moradpur* Balu Mahabadi Chandra, a prominent Congress worker, was arrested while returning home from the Congress office on the night of 15th.

Polishing of foreign cloth shops has been started. The demand for Khadi has been so great that the local Khadi Mander is unable to meet it.

C. P.—Punjab: Subramanyu Datta has been sentenced at Jalandhar to two years' imprisonment under Section 188A. Thakur Lalchandraman, Chaudhary, is being prosecuted at Jalandhar under Section 184A of the I. P. C. Sri Manoharprasad Shrivastava is charged under Section 188A of the I. P. C.

The Jalandhar Government Board has passed a resolution forbidding business and professions. The members of *Waggar* have resolved upon to abstain from collecting and selling foreign cloth. Shri Ram Chandra has leads the ladies in polishing foreign cloth shops.

Sri K. R. L. Agarwal of Dillapur in C. P. has resigned his seat in the Legislative Council as a mark of protest against the policy of ruthless repression.

At *Burhan* public meetings to support Dr. Biju Patnaik, provoked attention was paid out. The district carried out the same process simultaneously.

Sri M. K. Choudhary and N. N. Shrivastava have resigned their seats in the C. P. Legislative Council.

U. P.—The Government of the U. P. have issued instructions against participating in the political work. The authorities of the Allahabad University have warned the staff and the students in the same words. Balu Chagabhai and Balu Shrivastava Shrivastava, members of the U. P. Legislative Council, and belonging to the Leftist school of politics, have resigned their seats. Kancha Mahesh Sharma, member Liberal, has resigned his seat in the Legislative Assembly.

At *Varanasi*, Kancha Mahesh Sharma has been arrested under Section 184A. Sri Ganesh Chandra Tripathy and

Sri Manoharprasad Agarwal have been sentenced to 12 months' and 6 months' rigorous imprisonment respectively under the Congress.

At *Delhiana*, on the *Lahore* Congress' ground, mass civil disobedience of the Salt Laws was offered on Saturday last. The police charged the crowd with batons and arrested eight persons. Sri Chaudhary Anandji was arrested at *Delhiana*.

Poorsools shops at *Ludhiana* are boycotted intensely during the last few days in pursuance of the Congress decision.

At *Banars* Dattatraya Sharma, Secretary Banars United Congress Committee has been arrested on May 13th. Six Congress volunteers while organizing a *haveli* in the *Kash* district, sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment on May 15th.

At *Banars* the Congress have issued a *Proclamation* for the *Proclamation* to encourage mass resistance. They are encouraging as *charkas* and *Khadi*. Haveli to be made work have commenced. The polishing of shops in the city against the sale of foreign goods continues. Chaudhary, a volunteer, was arrested on May 15th for breaking the Salt Laws on two occasions and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment on each count and a fine of Rs. 10, on default fine and a half months' further imprisonment. Sri Adya Prasad, President, Banars United Congress Committee, has been arrested on 21st May in village *Badagpur*. A procession of volunteers went round the town of *Uttar* and manifested on 22nd May 1938. *Shrivastava* of *Shrivastava* has suspended publication in response to the Congress Working Committee's decision.

After the events of *Quadrant* and other leaders people have been working enthusiastically throughout the district. *Jailors* have been touring the rural parts of the district *Shrivastava* and in the villages continued only in *Shrivastava*. The polishing of foreign cloth, *Waggar* and all other is in full swing.

Monday at 12th plain in *Patna* district with *Satya* was started on May 14th. The local Congress Committee has started polishing of foreign cloth shops.

The polishing of foreign cloth and *khadi* shops has been in progress at *Patna* since the 14th May last. All the cloth merchants have undertaken not to export foreign cloth for six months. *Khadi* shops are gradually closed as no one goes to *Shrivastava*.

On *Shrivastava* Congress workers of *Ludhiana* commenced since have been given six months' rigorous imprisonment. The remaining two, Sri *Shrivastava* and *Shrivastava*, have been fined Rs. 100, on default was *Shrivastava*'s imprisonment.

Karnataka Foreign cloth boycott work is being carried on vigorously at *Bangalore*. At every meeting in the city leaders of foreign cloth is made. A *Satya* group camp has been manifested here. Sri *Shrivastava* *Shrivastava* has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 117 of the I. P. C. and 10 of the Salt Act.

Maharashtra—Sri K. M. Pandey has been sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment at *Pune* under Section 117 of the I. P. C.

The *Shrivastava* and has been reported, 120 volunteers have been arrested, and 1,000 amounts of cloth were removed from the *Waggar*.



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The State Prisoner

The question of Gandhi's form of imprisonment now being taken up in the press, it will be as well for us to examine the matter in detail.

When Gandhi was made prisoner at dead of night, and carried off, without trial, to be lodged up in Yerwada Jail as a State Prisoner under the provisions of Bombay Regulation L.V. of 1912, we all asked ourselves, 'What does this mean, to be a State Prisoner?'

But we can easily tell exactly, in the official *Prisoners Jail Manual* we could find the following regarding State Prisoners.

"When any person sentenced for life custody under the provisions of Bengal Regulation III of 1912, Madras Regulation II of 1912, or Bombay Regulation L.V. of 1912, is placed in any prison, an immediate report of the circumstances shall be made by the Superintendent to the Inspector-General. This report shall contain a record of the date and name of the State prisoner, of the date showing his detention, of the provision made for his safe custody, of the special diet which is to be served, of the particular ward in which he is to be confined, and of his treatment generally, and the Inspector-General shall send such notice on these subjects as he may consider necessary for the health and comfort of such prisoner, care being taken that such notice not be inconsistent with the instructions of Government regarding his treatment and safe custody. If any objections have been raised by Government, the Inspector-General shall apply for the same. When a prisoner of this class is confined in a prison, a report in Form No. 19 shall be submitted on the 1st January and 1st July of each year."

But that could get us no farther, and we have not as words and well.

Now, after four weeks of watching and waiting we are beginning to get some idea. Gandhi appears to be carefully and confidentially treated with regard to material comfort. As he read himself, when I saw him on 21st May "All my needs (material) are seen to most minutely. I may say they are catered for before I realize these things!" That is the bright side of the treatment. The dark side is hardly mentioned—the complete isolation in which he is being kept.

So it appears that he is a State Prisoner, for Gandhi, states this "That he has had and must continue with regard to material needs, but that he is strictly isolated from human contact."

Let us now see what this isolation means. According to the *Prison Laws* it is explained as a

special form of punishment, and one that is so severe that it may only be carried out under special supervising staff, medical and otherwise.

We will let the *Prison Rules* speak for themselves.

The following quotation are taken from "The *Prisoners Jail Manual* (Glasgow) published by the Government of Bombay printed edition 1927"

Dealing with 'Prisoners confined to Solitary Confinement' in Chapter XVIII paragraph 606 it is stated

"Prisoners ordered to be treated in the separate division should be provided with separate communicating apart from ordinary prisoners, but not in so as to involve anything of the nature of separate confinement unless specially ordered on a person's recommendation (Under rules)"

The punishment of separate confinement is defined as follows

"Separate confinement means such confining with or without labour as involves a prisoner from communication with, but not from sight of other prisoners and allows him and him that are kept's exposure for some and to have his meals in association with one or more other prisoners."

"Chapter XXVIII Offences and Penalties" Paragraph 701 (12)

It will be noticed that this is less severe than Gandhi's form of confinement, as he is cut off from all communication with other prisoners even at meal time.

His isolation seems to confirm more closely to what is termed 'solitary confinement,' and which is defined as follows

Solitary confinement is such confinement as entirely isolates the prisoner both from sight of and communication with other prisoners" (Chapter VIII, 'Corrected Prisoners, Paragraph 412)

Whether Gandhi is entirely isolated from the sight of other prisoners I do not know, but my way for the best, the isolation of his isolation seems to open under the head of solitary confinement.

Let us now see what conditions the authorities view the severity of solitary confinement.

Chapter VIII, 'Corrected Prisoners'

405. "No prisoner shall be placed in solitary confinement until he has been examined by the Medical Officer and certified in Regulation No. 31 to be fit to undergo the punishment."

412 "Every prisoner in solitary confinement shall be visited daily by the Superintendent and Medical Officer or Medical Subordinate."

And we may further note two incidents as quoted in a proclamation. In chapter XXXIII paragraph 175, 'Separate confinement and cellular Confinement about Nos 12 and 13 is a long list of 24 different kinds of punishments which may be awarded by the Superintendent. In the same chapter, paragraph 165, it is stated that punishments are divided into minor and major punishments, and under minor punishments are listed "Separate confinement for not more than 14 days" and under major punishments "Separate confinement for a period exceeding 14 days."

Just recently, 17th April 1936, some further letters show they have agreed to the Government of Bombay regarding the separation of convicted persons into three classes. It is stated in these communications, that "Persons of class A will have, as far as they be possible, separate cell accommodations, a few small articles of furniture, reasonable facilities for outdoor free and common and suitable sanitary and bathing arrangements." (Underlined)

It is curious to find, that, though Gandhiji is given confidential treatment, special food, and has been favoured by special classes of all of which has been sanctioned by the Government in the past; he is at the same time undergoing a punishment which is admitted, by the officials themselves, to be one of the most and most degrading which it is in their power to award him of that the Government has made nothing of the past!

Gandhiji, being in his extraordinary mental control can bear this strain, but even so, occasional treatment of this kind is bound to tell on his general health.

In the immediate I may quote a passage from Mr. Shasthulal Nadkar's statement given in Young India, April 16th 1935, on his escape from Yeravda Jail where he had been imprisoned with Gandhiji.

"While actual conditions are well looked after,

he (Gandhiji) is mentally starved. The allowance of books is so small & so in great conflict, but the unnecessary conditions imposed upon him is severely felt by him. Immediately after my admission in the Yeravda Prison, I was taken away from him.

"We were separated to be separated."

"After about two months' separation, I was sent back to him, and I continued such hostile service as I was capable of. He took all messages every evening,

but he would not have of them any but books."

While, therefore, we have with him any package have been nothing of the nature than other prisoners requested and received till this day. It is an utterly unnecessary. The other ordinary prisoners are not treated unless they are held otherwise. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, rightly expects that on no additional punishment."

This was more than six. The same thing, only more so, is happening again today.

What can be the advantage, says the Government part of this, in punishing Gandhiji in this fashion? There are certain members of his family and associates in jail today, and there should be no difficulty in arranging for him to have suitable and sufficient companionship.

The Government are do nothing on good either in the eyes of India or the world by allowing this inhuman

Mis-

* The same is the case today.

Discussion Letter

Can Gandhi and weep like leaves pass him, flowered over in their various trials, and their stories of pieces of scattered humanity on this May and stretched off in only the ambiguity of the most powerful symbols of earth.

At five o'clock in night the two Indians from Villa Pardo and Khadiji got out for the night area. The Villa Pardo bank started up to the Eastern bank and the Khadiji bank proceeded to the Western side.

When the leaves Mahatma left by Dindar Gao reached the Eastern side area, they were told by the police and they promptly broke up into two sections of twenty-five and thirty and which can secure kept the police from leaving them. The other section made a dash for the salt house. By the time the police had killed every one of the twenty-five men, the others had just reached the salt house were some of the salt house. The police were now free to attack in three. They just surrounded and beat them for a time and then they were told that they were under arrest. At this they all sat down and started playing the bhajan's prayer song of Gandhiji. Then the police told them that they were to be taken to the Eastern bank. The European policemen charged them and they just ran the up and down and right and left. The English officer who was present was asked if the Red Cross men could remove the wounded. He is reported to have said that he could give only five minutes to clear the whole field. The responsibility of the whole thing was placed on him and he said he was sorry. All the wounded men were left in the field all night down where the police just dragged each of them up to the fence and threw them into the chains. The Red Cross people have removed them to the Government hospital.

While that was happening on the Eastern side, British authority was on the Western bank. As soon as the first batch from Khadiji reached the fence they were stopped by twenty policemen and on a given signal the Sahayagis spread out and covered the salt house with a wide net. The police started chasing and beating them most brutally. Then a large crowd and a party of armed Europeans rushed into the field with the most terrible pain and started chasing the volunteers. The plan appeared to be to kill them down and then beat each fallen Sahayagi with as much violence and vigor as if it was some policeman. While they were attacking and not so armed British Sahayagi men a party of British Sahayagi men were attacking. One thing which struck me about this act "of protecting Government property from trespassers" — I was an eye witness on 24th Western bank — was that a number of Sahayagis were being chased towards the salt house, and out over from them, by the Europeans. It had no less the whole bank was divided. Where there were no more Sahayagis in line, one of the Europeans had to dash a couple of feet back for about four and chase a person who was standing a hundred yards outside the salt house fence.

Then a second batch of Sahayagis followed and another party of British Sahayagi men in the police station and the Indians.

The day's struggle terminated with a hospital full of one hundred and eleven seriously wounded out of a hundred and sixty five.

June 1st

Yesterday it was felt that there could not be a more unfortunate end than that of missing the harvest with the bodies of unrepentant volunteers. But more than is shown by to-day.

The morning 122 volunteers from Kooda, Ahmedabad, Doodh and Varanasi attempted to reach this depot. Some of them went to a depot named Uch, whence others from Kooda's marched towards this, situated a mile away from the Camp.

As soon as they got to the vicinity of the Depot, the police made a sudden and deliberate move on the marching one by one 45 minutes. Mr. Jagan Das had anticipated a little change and he was followed soon by the police. By about 12 noon almost every volunteer near that Depot was arrested.

After the charge, dragging them by hand or foot was an ordinary course to be adopted. Volunteers were beaten mercilessly and brutally. The wounded were removed to the Uch Camp and Delhi hospitals. The total number of the wounded is 112—twenty five of them have sustained serious injuries, while thirty of them were unconscious, one Sahaygiri was vomiting blood and two were going unconscious.

One was stopped naked and a hole was thrust into the anus by a sergeant. The volunteer tried to resist it but the doctor again exposed the performance. Many volunteers received similar treatment and are suffering from injuries near the vital parts. One has his intestine outside and was removed to the same house. The officer did not stop with this barbarity but went to the length of pushing his/her thumb into the body of Anandkumar, a young lad from Dhurugpur. Doctors extracted him after he managed to Camp Hospital. He died instantly when there were being extracted and was removed.

Two of the wounded who were taken possession of in a very generous manner by Government were kept there near the Uch's house late in the evening. One of them had required up less than a hole. Blood and was dragged mercilessly and yet he did not estimate his steps. This deplorable offered the sergeant who ordered released him the date to be pushed into their nostrils and then some hands dipped into the dark water. The operation was repeated about 20 times. Then they were removed to Government Hospital by the Authorities in a crowded condition where they remained so for over three hours. On requiring examinations, they were asked if they would go home and on those refused to go home they were administered 12 to 15 blows and were dragged and thrown out at a distance, where they were pulled up late at 3 P. M.

All these barbarities are recorded in after the advice of Mr. Paul of Varanasi House. He became a being repeated here. We give below some statements from some of the statements made by the witnesses.

1. Ahironda and some other officers with heavy stones on, put their feet on the chest of one volunteer and pressed him much. This double-stroke made his organs very hard.

2. Another was stopped naked and Ahironda gave three heavy blows on his stomach. He received several Lathi blows on his chest, as well as on waist and back.

3. A volunteer who took part in the raid on the Uch. Was arrested on the field to-day. This volunteer found Sahaygiri with an officer who remarked, "I shall that time crush your nose to atoms," as saying he gave a blow on his nose. The nose severely bled. Then a blow fell on his neck and the volunteer reeled to the ground. Four policemen were then made to lift him and the officer pushed him with his hands on his chest. This volunteer was removed for two hours.

4. One more volunteer was lying on a cot in a critical condition as a result of heavy lathi blows on his chest. He could breathe with great difficulty. He had severe pain in the chest and had a severe blow on his head. His feet had been blown all over his body and sustained unconscious for over two hours. A European officer ordered a chair to be placed between his two legs. After that, his legs were pushed aside with a stick. But he moved his private parts from away with a little shivering. His shoes were torn and he received lathi blows on back and stomach.

The Captain of Ahmedabad house, Karamch Mahipal, is still unconscious and a doctor is still attending "Anu, Anu." Police has stolen away a handcuffed and a pipe away from an Ahmedabad volunteer. (Ahmedabad, June 1st 1935)

Doctor's Bulletin

The following is the bulletin under date June 1st, issued by Dr. Bhaskaran Prasad M. D., in charge of the Congress Committee Hospital where wounded volunteers are being treated.

"The total count of 13 wounded volunteers was brought at 1 P. M. today. Since then all the report is being written, volunteers are being brought in Ahmedabad late and on condition. So far 63 of them have been admitted to the Hospital. It is reported to me that more than thirty volunteers who are now severely wounded are still lying at Uch's camp."

"These admitted present a peculiar picture of various injuries. There is one with a distinct swelling of the stomach, which is very painful. Some are run over by horses and lathi blows received from mounted police. Several amongst Ahmedabad group as they have not blood and holes on that part of the body. This when healing has caused the volunteers more suffering than open lathi blows. It is more extensive. Several volunteers have lacerations on various parts of the body due to being dragged out. Some of them have spinal nerves pinched near their bodies."

Foreign Cloth Prohibiting in Ahmedabad

The following is the text of a telegram sent to the Secretary by Ahmedabad *prohibiting* committee.

"The President, Mahatma of Ahmedabad (which largely deals in foreign cloth) hereby protests against the new Government including illegal the power and the prohibition of foreign cloth for the purpose of the import of foreign cloth, and hereby resolves that up to the 15th June they will mainly cease to deal in foreign cloth directly or indirectly."

Many others in the trade have also decided not to sell foreign cloth for a fortnight. Following, however, is continued on regarding the real why do not work to stop by the prohibition.

J. C. K.

Young India

The Programme

(By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU)

Hardly three months have passed since Mahatma Gandhi announced his momentous march to Dandi. Less than two months ago he initiated the campaign of civil disobedience. In this brief span of time the nation has moved with a giant's step. The last eight months have been thickly studded with extraordinary events. The national upheaval has well nigh broken the moulds of slavery, then, women, and child are learning to hold their heads high and breathe as a free being. The dread of imprisonment is gone. The fear of British rule fades as also goes. The rich and the poor are developing their capacity for action. Above the vision of past international discord, a new sympathy of national solidarity is becoming visible. It is impossible, except for those who will not see, to ignore the mounting excitement of the Indian community with the present struggle. No other social programme is comparable for the remarkable manifestation of political feeling in every corner from the Western Province. We see the growing participation of the Muslims in national demonstrations in all large cities in the country in addition to non-cooperation. The practical minded Hindu community has recently given its whole heart to its civil disobedience and mass of national volunteers which will live for ever in the memories of the citizens of Bombay. Other sections of the Indian people, of whose progress I hardly say anything, are being made much of and, slowly but surely, awakening to the reality of the situation and to a sense of their duty in the country at this stage. Trade, commerce, and industry are thus being helped on the road under the banner of Government's legislation.

Let us not suppose or forget the losses of the process. It would be hard if we did so. We must study the course of events of the past few months, and judge ourselves in the coming time with the light of such study. We would be generous if we think that not one day more than another has led us as well and as quickly to our goal. It is not then as that time to Mahatma Gandhi's programme was made the nation rose in open revolt. Nor could the mass movement prosecution of a number of them even as bodies and against the nation as it has been found unbelieved not improved during the last few months. The cause for the nation and widespread sympathy of the people for it. It is the bold step of the defiance of law, and the organisation, a direct conflict with authority by means which are also called that has inspired the millions of the nation and national all on part of them to be enabled for a peaceful but satisfying resistance in the coming system of Government. The bonds of law—civil disobedience—is the end of the present movement. The nation will initiate its present high level of effort if it keeps the

central part of Mahatma Gandhi's programme as the pivot on which all other things must turn. One hour of organised non-violent demonstration of national solidarity on behalf of Indian cloth is better of British goods or better of British banking, shipping, and commerce or on some other individual item. That way lies failure. Civil disobedience is the life breath of all these things. They have no chance of success except as it therefore generated by the campaign of civil disobedience. The nation has come to the decision under the principle of a national programme. It is the picture of changes in British rule which has shaken India out of its slumber. We want, therefore, leaders of all organisations which keep the programme of the bonds of law in the background.

This does not mean that the voluntary boycott programme is to involve any less activity than hitherto. In a matter of last few efforts in their direction need to be extended. The pointing of finger cloth shops must go on unabated except where an understanding has been previously reached between the Congress and the cloth dealer. Where such understanding exists the Congress and those who carry out its programme are in better stead by it. There seems to be more doubt as the state of workers in certain places as to their duty in the above circumstances. The instructions of our leaders are clear enough. Only a week before he was taken from us, he wrote that if a local Congress Committee had found itself in any position under certain conditions "the greatest law to be followed is one cost. If the cost of a Congress as Congress responsibility cannot be asked upon, we shall ultimately lose the battle. Responsibility must continue in British hands of power is a true principle of truth." Except where such positive advice or understanding is arrived at the philosophy of foreign cloth shops must proceed unabated. Where local resources are adequate and the disruption of international trade the boycott steps have also to be pursued. The boycott of British goods in the extent it is feasible and the boycott of British banking, shipping and commerce open up a wide field of activity for the great, versatile community which is successfully identifying itself with Mahatma Gandhi's movement. The conference of fifty five concerned bodies in Bombay resulted in a declaration which has had no parallel in the city. If such organisations called all over the country to carry out the above boycott programme and if they could set up a wide acting machinery for the purpose, the national movement will see great extension. Bombay set into the lead in this as it has done in so-and-other things. The Congress Committee and other sympathetic bodies must also carry on a vigorous propaganda to support of the programme of national boycott. There can be no relaxation in regard to any form of the voluntary programme of the Congress. That would be a false step. But it would be far wiser to give a central place to the most programme of civil disobedience based on the non-payment of taxes which has inspired and moved national feeling to its present pitch.

Notes

Government by Obedience

There could be no plainer statement of the essence of the civil disobedience movement in Gujarat than is contained in the two new Ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy. We were told only a few weeks ago that the reports of the response made by the people of Gujarat to Mahatma Gandhi's programmes were being exaggerated. Today the Government is afraid that unless something drastic is attempted to curb the exuberance of Gujarat there will be great danger of 'grave mistakes upon the administration and the stability of the State.' And so let the workers of Gujarat know 'the administration is a shielded'—a shielded form of freedom law is to guard all over the province. We take the words of the new Ordinances as a great enough hint that the Government is afraid. The administrative machinery which these Ordinances provide indicate how completely the administration has broken down in the hand down of the province and how martial law methods have to be used upon its control. The people of Gujarat have really succeeded in making the present system of Government responsible in several parts of the province. This was the aim of the civil disobedience movement. So in its place they must have a Government by Obedience. Gujarat will pass through this new test of its patience, courage and character with as much honour as it has passed through earlier forms of repression. The light must be created in despite of the policeman's baton and the Viceroy's Ordinances. Victory will come our efforts helps long if we are true to our great leader and sacrifice all in the face of our country's freedom.

The Truth Looks Out

A great deal has been said about Indian papers manipulating the facts about Patwant. The Indian public will know the whole truth when Patel Inquiry Committee publishes its report. We report that Committee is complete its work only in the statement illuminating evidence has been recorded before the Committee appointed by the Government. One may not be surprised at these days at the recording of news and not by newspaper correspondents. The Government shows the light coming from such independent sources. But we are not prepared for the recording of a message which merely recommended the release of officials before the official Inquiry Committee. The release here for the Government is intended to go, is showing out the truth. Even now several reports of evidence under the popular action of the news of Patwant. A Government official, Mr. Sankardev, the City Magistrate of Patwant, is reported to have stated "in the beginning the work did not damage any property and was not deadly. This was why he told Mr. Maclellan (the Deputy Commissioner) that there was no need for calling out the military. His opinion was that the work was not going to interfere with Government as long as Government did not interfere with it. The work was not and quiet before the military arrived but soon after arrested and arrested and one man went on foot by train. But the night became calmer. We shall wait with interest the full report of the evidence if it is ever allowed to be published. J. B.

The College of Satyagrahi

(By J. C. Karamchand)

The education in India supported by the Government was founded on the educational philosophy of Manu, their main object being to train men men with a fair knowledge of English to fill the clerical posts of the foreign government. To make the best students a few of the places of office were filled out to these clerks. In their short they have succeeded in they have been manufacturing excellent 'good drivers' and we have even reached a stage of perperfection as there is now a school of such 'educated' men. Under Puran Dutt we had 'good' and not 'good drivers' and hence our men will have to be defined.

The Satyagrahi college offers a magnificent opportunity not only to correct the present 'good drivers' but also to train men who will have the courage, some of whom can serve as a moral education, for complete citizenship. A truly educated man cannot be a slave. He is independent morally, mentally and politically. Mahatma says, "The test of whether you are educated is, can you do what you ought, when you ought whether you want to do it or not?" This means an educated man has to have character of self-reliance as to the problems today has not independence of people with a sense of responsibility to the environment and then not in showing loyalty to nation, higher than mere personal considerations. Let us examine these three qualities and see to what extent our Satyagrahi colleges fulfill them.

Characteristics a college does not call for men given the knowledge of what others have said before. We have to be thinking ourselves with an ability to challenge any statement in its proper setting or relation to the rest of the narrative. We cannot do this with a narrow mind which like a dirty pool only reflects the glass of the mirror but contains muddy water. We have to open our mind eyes with the problems of life to build up character. In what way does Satyagrahi offer this training? It brings rich and poor, the male and the female, the young and the old, the town-dwellers and the rural and shows them together in a life where forgetting their differences they work together for the common good and there are equal's names and joys. This creates sympathy between divergent elements. What is a college without sympathy and what leads to greater understanding than a working of differences? The Satyagrahi comes up against new problems every moment which calls for immediate action. The constant balance of good and evil and weighing up the merits of one action in the context which will build together the bricks out of which the edifice of character is built. These little every day decisions train habits of first and finally become habits in a personality which easily produces what it ought to do.

Success in life depends on knowing exactly when we ought to do certain things. The right time comes at the wrong moment is usually the failure of all leaders. The difference between a man and a fool is that the man can know before he acts what he ought to do while the fool knows when he should have done after the time he when had passed. As such Satyagrahi in his own leader and leader for him-

to be in doubt. I want only refer the writer to a standard work—A. M. Carr-Saunders's *Population, Oxford University Press*. In chapter VII, dealing with World Population, Saunders compares the rate of increase, taking it to compound every year, of 0.75 per annum. This will give us a rate of a little over 75 per decade. According to the England has been increasing at nearly double the annual rate and India and France at about one seventh of the annual rate. I did not intend it to compound and took the simple rate of about 105 per decade. In fact I was making a most favourable comparison as far as England was concerned than I could have.

The Times of India should know that such sweeping and irresponsible statements do no credit to any journal which has any pretensions to the confidence of the public. As the rest of that article is not germane to the main theme of my essay it will be so concerned from me.

Gandhi Raj in Sylhet

The following is an extract from a report sent by the President, District Congress Committee, Sylhet.

"Babu Shivramdaschandra Vaidya, 37 years old, President of the Congress League, and Babu Shrikrishnachandra Dasgupta, Vice-president were leading the procession consisting of 15 leaders, some adherents of the Congress League and the District Congress Committee and others Sahaygubars all pledged to non-violence. Just after the procession started Bhagat Taranath Ait, R. A. C., declared it illegal and asked the Sahaygubars to disperse. The Sahaygubars refused to do so and proceeded towards their destinations. The magistrates surrounded the Sahaygubars and begged to let a number of well-to-do men with him to march head in ahead, the Sahaygubars not disperse them by force. When they proceeded along their highways in array of columns with decorated rifles in hand were seen standing in rows overlooking the street. The Captain, the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Commissioner were also seen standing by their side. When the volunteers met the soldiers here in front Bhagat Taranath Ait, R. A. C., ordered the volunteers commanded to disperse the procession by force. Babu Shivramdaschandra Vaidya was arrested from his followers and put under arrest. Then followed a bloody scene. The Europeans captured with bullets in hand and the soldiers with their bayonets and helmets fell upon the Sahaygubars and begged to see their weapons kindly till such and every one of the volunteers lay flat on the ground—their heads broken, bodies disfigured, blood oozing out in streams and some of them unconscious. Not satisfied with what they had done the soldiers and their European leaders kindly kicked some of the volunteers lying flat on the ground and trampled over some of them. Not a volunteer moved an inch from the spot he was standing—and one of them showed the slightest sign of resistance—was a man dropped, and a single cry was heard. On the spot collapsed and no all rules of the game set for away from the spot were standing themselves in dead silence. Some of them got very much excited and they were almost going to retaliate, but were prevented from doing so by others. Some of the spectators could not stand the horrible sight and fainted. It took only a few seconds for the military to finish up their business

and they returned to their post immediately. No arrangement was made for giving first aid to the injured by Government. Anti-Britishness was, from the office of the Congress League, was standing a State before the eyes of all India. It marked the spot home-land-ly and removed the injured, some to the League office and others to private houses. While the wounded were being thus removed four of them including Babu Krishnachandra Dasgupta, Asst. Secretary, District Congress Committee, were put under arrest and taken away to the thana along with Babu Shrikrishnachandra Vaidya. Next day they were all handcuffed and a rope was tied round their waist, while they were being professed before the magistrates and taken taken to jail.

"Babu Shrikrishnachandra Dasgupta received a secret letter to the fact the jail was awaiting immediately. He was imprisoned for about 15 hours and was suffering from constipation of the bowels. He is steadily improving. Others are also treated well. All the local doctors showed very great sympathy and attended and have been attending all the wounded with great care. The citizens also, men and women, including Government officials are taking a keen interest in all the wounded. The Anti-British Corps, composed of the local Tarna Sangha members are among the wounded with great care.

"On the 12th, May, in the afternoon 12 volunteers were returning to the town from staffed marching in a procession and along national song. When they reached the European club the Deputy Commissioner and other Europeans, most of them magistrates, rushed out to the club with their rifles in their hands and shot some Hindus on the volunteers who stood there surprised. A military officer also joined his company men in the latter end."

Police Zahara in Bengal

By Sankaradaschandra Gupta writes

"Police oppression is going on throughout the province. At Calcutta there is a police order prohibiting processions and meetings. Volunteers have processions and hold meetings daily or on alternate days. In these meetings police generally beat the volunteers, and the police and armed men volunteers. When the volunteers go out houses on the spot, they are taken to police station and beaten. They are either let off or imprisoned. In the district of Mirzapur, the subdivisions of Chandel and Tarnak have been specially selected by the police for oppression. The general method is to punish the volunteers by severely beating them and putting them off from the place by forcibly putting them into buses. Another method is to provide the police to acts of violence and then come upon the village, beat the village, men and women and keep a group of village prisoners in a condition of rage.

"Volunteers are tortured and old methods heard of in stories are practiced. One old man was taken and wrapped in a wet cloth, was made to sit on a hot plate under a blazing sun for hours. Then he was whipped, as water being given off to become conscious through beating. He was then given water to revive only to be whipped to unconsciousness again.

"Immediately after police oppression in villages there is a full day when the people mourn and take up the challenge.

Nigeria

An Appreciation from Pankaj Mahalik

The following is an extract from a letter from Pankaj Mahalik, Niles, addressed to General Phoebe of Congress Committee.

"I am very glad to learn how bravely our volunteers had met the typhoid and cholera, notwithstanding the adverse weather conditions. The danger at Owerri was still as serious, by the very history story of old times, and again even today, those of the volunteers. Please write to the men my best appreciation of their untiring and self-sacrifice, which is the substance of all heroism."

"I wish that my Anandil Pandit, who succeeded his father, Pankaj and the whole Indian community and his friends and friends, and many have also been stopped. I must go back, but as the leaders of health are as good as volunteers will stay in their place and continue to what is perhaps a constant in their profession, how does it?"

The Intense at Owerri.

The message from Owerri, where the General has more than needed Pankaj Mahalik's experience. Besides the Prime of death, which is here, but has been in blood, fever and general discomfort. It is said that the men who are not able to work. Their condition, however, is here called for in the capital of the country. They have started during a day on the death of men.

"And in the least day, a hour day."

Still thinking in these are open work,

In which the full, I really never a house."

So the situation goes on. After the day, which was full of danger by several people and has no effect on the situation in the Government which seems to be continuing its forward movement. The Government now says:

"There is no more, all good to me is lost."

Let, in that, my good."

The volunteers have now started to communicate. Some of the volunteers are now in the capital and are saying they have started their own work. Some of the volunteers are now in the capital and are saying they have started their own work. Some of the volunteers are now in the capital and are saying they have started their own work.

The results of it all is that in spite of all the Government volunteers are volunteers have continued steadily forward and passed in jobs. These men have started their own work and are saying they have started their own work. These men have started their own work and are saying they have started their own work.

New Facts

Day by day we are obtaining our knowledge. We are becoming to understand the situation more and more. A little more of the end has been told and we are now more confident. The situation of the Government is being understood more and more. The situation of the Government is being understood more and more. The situation of the Government is being understood more and more.

Nothing more to be said. Here we have two more days in our knowledge. The Government

is doing its best to get the situation under control. We are doing our best to get the situation under control. We are doing our best to get the situation under control.

A Lead from Jalalpur

In spite of the economic situation, which the Government is now facing, the Government is now facing. The Government is now facing. The Government is now facing. The Government is now facing.

J. C. K.

A Police Commission

By Jalalpur, Jalalpur, Jalalpur.

"The Commission is now working in the capital. The Commission is now working in the capital. The Commission is now working in the capital. The Commission is now working in the capital."

"Only the other day a General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General is now in the capital. The General is now in the capital. The General is now in the capital."

"The report to the General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The report to the General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The report to the General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital."

"The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital."

"The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital."

"The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital. The General, who is now in the capital, is now in the capital."

J. C. K.

The Attack on Deek End

The work of the Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital."

"The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital. The Indian Police Commission is now in the capital."

Massed events, repeatedly changed the orders with the result that some 100 persons were injured. Hundreds of thousands of salt were carried away by the cultivators. Students, labourers, Muslims and other tax-payers were arrested in this connection, but were later released. A large procession of Hindu men and women passed round the city and the Stadium at the city on May 19th. It was popular and support of the fight for independence. A Vande Mataram Rally was organised by Sri. Shanmukh J. Datta, a leading advocate, on May 19th. A band of 27 volunteers' band led Viji Parthi from Chelapay on May 20th, to defy the regulations against the display of the National Flag. Sri Parthi, a new recruit, who, when returning the Vande Mataram Work, met, but was arrested by a constable on Sunday last, but was released to his nephew. Sri. Maheshwar Datta, a volunteer, who carried a banner while he was passing. On each of the two of the recent non-political acts, but broadcast the last. The wounded in this act were treated by the Congress authorities. Thousands are passing in the making themselves as Congress volunteers. Picketing at Viji Parthi has been started from Tuesday last. A lady volunteer was hit with a stone on Thursday. A large procession of Hindustanis started round the grounds of Sunday on May 25th in support together with the Prisoners' meeting. In a meeting, successful after the termination of the procession, resolutions were adopted to support the Congress, the Government and the struggle for independence. Twenty-two volunteers on Tuesday and forty men in Yandri have been sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 141 of the I.P.C. They were Hindu students.

Maharashtra—The President of the A. I. C. C. has approved of the suggestion of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee to make the Shrikrishna National Day as an all-India day. The committee has deposited accordingly a batch of their volunteers to Chelapay to defy the regulations relating to the National Flag. Sri. Maheshwar Datta, a prominent member of Thane, has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, or default on which more under Section 117 of the I.P.C. Sri. Shanmukh Datta has been given 10 months' rigorous imprisonment at Nagpur on May 25th under Section 117 of the I.P.C. The Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee is reported to be taking up the subject of releasing our leaders in each of the districts of Bombay, Thane and Kolhapur for their programme. Congressmen at Ahmednagar district has been elected to the headquarters of the Power Law Congress Committee of Maharashtra. General orders are issued for propaganda work in the committee. Sri. Maheshwar Parthi, a Congress volunteer, has been arrested at Parbhani in June 1930 for violating Forest Laws. Sri. Maheshwar Datta has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment at Thane. Further arrests have been effected at Chhat. District.

Karnataka—Sri. S. Mithalappa Mithal and Mithalappa Appayappa Mithal have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Sri. Ramappa Kulkarni has been given three months' imprisonment. All the three taking to Bangalore. Sri. Ramappa Kulkarni of Mysore has been sentenced eight months' imprisonment.

Sri. Prabhu Ramachandra Bhat has been arrested at Aligarh. About two hundred persons from Hald and neighbouring villages marched to Dahanu for taking Bhat to the city of an electrician put in their way. They were able to cut short nearly 200 men. Sri. Maheshwar Datta has been arrested at Aligarh under Section 117 of the I.P.C.

Madhya—The Madhya Pradesh Congress has arrested at Aligarh leaders of volunteers for the Government and Sri. S. S. Patil, a Member of the Council, has ordered his seat on the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Council as a protest against the measures of the Government. The students of Kanpur have formed an association for supporting Satyagrah and non-cooperation with the Government.

N. W. P. Province—Prof. Maheshwar Maheshwar and his party, consisting of Prof. Maheshwar Maheshwar, Prof. Maheshwar Maheshwar and Prof. Maheshwar Maheshwar, were arrested with a notice on May 25th at Kanpur for picketing them from entering the Province. They, however, proceeded with the protest, and were made to go down at Kanpur Road where they were taken to be arrested. The authorities afterwards took them by force to Kanpur and released them. The Kanpur Congress is the Province office, supported by the A. I. C. C., have commenced sitting at Kanpur from May 25th. Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar is the Chairman, and Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar, Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar, Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar are the members. Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar, officer of Kanpur, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The District Board Kanpur Congress Committee and Kanpur District Board have been declared as unlawful associations. The Kanpur District Board has been arrested at Kanpur for taking part in an unlawful procession, brought out to the aid of two national volunteers who had been arrested for violating, support of the Government.

U. P.—Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar, a prominent leader of the movement and A. I. C. C., has been arrested at Kanpur on May 25th on charges of violating the Salt Act. Maheshwar Maheshwar, who was arrested at Kanpur on May 25th, has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment under Section 117 of the I.P.C. Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar, a Member of the Council, has ordered his seat in the U. P. Legislative Council as a protest against the police measures at Kanpur. Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment under the Salt Act. Maheshwar Maheshwar, a prominent Congress leader of Kanpur, has been arrested on the 25th, and the police has been ordered to take to the Kanpur District Board. Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar of Kanpur has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, or default 3 months' more. A preliminary order against the Kanpur District Board has been issued on the 25th at Kanpur of Kanpur under Section 141. Volunteers arrested at Kanpur on Sunday last have been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. Sri. Maheshwar Maheshwar, Maheshwar Maheshwar and Maheshwar Maheshwar are being prosecuted at Kanpur under Section 141 A. Two volunteers have been arrested at Kanpur on Tuesday last for preparing salt. On May 25th, salt was again produced. Further steps are

Stores are being protected. At Durgam, 14 out of 175 shops dealing in foreign cloth, 140 out of 100 foreign cloth shops sealed by the Congress Committee. There has been an unprecedented demand for Gandhi cloth and Khaddar at Patna and the local Khaddi market is unable to meet it. The Salt Law was violated here on Sunday May 23d. Liquor, toddy, opium and strong drugs are prohibited regularly. The work of cutting palm trees has been taken up recently. At Gopigan, the Congressists for Assampran has joined a resolution to put on Gandhi cloth, preferably Khaddar. At Durgam present actions are going about from door to door inducing people to join the Gandhi's cause. The phlocking of liquor and toddy shops in Agni is going on. A large number of shopkeepers have failed their foreign cloth and put them sealed by the Congress. They have further pledged themselves not to sell these goods or import any foreign cloth for six months.

C. P. - **Sr. M. V. Akbarabadi**, President of the C. P. Provincial Congress Committee has been arrested on May 23d at Nagpur under 120 A of the I. P. C. **Dr. Yashwantrao Jodha**, a distinguished Sahayogi has been arrested at Bhandara on May 26th under Section 120 A. **Sr. Tarabai Lakshmanrao**, **Bhaskarrao Dhole**, **Somnathrao Patil**, **Ghosh**, **Yashwantrao** and **Devprasad Wadga** have been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment at Bhandara under Section 108 A of the I. P. C. **Sr. K. P. Khairabadi** and **Shripadrao** have been awarded two year's rigorous imprisonment at Jalgaon under Section 114 A of the I. P. C. **Merchants of Bhandara** have decided on foreign cloth boycott and have decided not to select for any foreign cloth. Volunteers are being enlisted for phlocking foreign cloth shops, and propaganda work was done in the surrounding villages. The Working Congress Committee has suspended phlocking of foreign cloth shops from May 23d. Station of volunteers have been formed for this purpose. In spite of the heavy storm that passed recently through Akola, the salt collection stood to their post of duty. The toddy booth, however, has collapsed in the storm phlocking of foreign cloth shops at Chavda has been started.

Bihar - **Sr. Chaudhary Bhawansingh**, a Liberal, has resigned his seat in the Bihar Legislative Council as a protest against the Government's economic policy.

Bengal - Twenty four Congress workers of Kollingpur have been arrested with opium under Section 108 of the Cr. P. C. Seven phlockers of the same town have been arrested for continuing a procession in defiance of the Section 144. The police at Naradip charged a procession, brought and on defiance of the prohibitory order, with the result that about 100 persons sustained injuries. **Sr. Phraman Lalit** has been arrested at Rangpur under the Bengal Chhattran. **Sr. Virendra Das Gupta** of Barisal has been arrested. The liquor shop phlockers at Siliguri have been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50, in default one month's rigorous imprisonment, under Section 144. **Sr. Jitendra Ghosh**, Secretary of Maghbon Congress Committee, has been awarded one year's simple imprisonment under Section 108 of the Cr. P. C. The police at

Calcutta sealed the shops of the Bengal Civil Disobedience Committee and took away some papers. **Sr. Pradipabandhu Ganguli** of Calcutta, has been given three months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, in default one month's more under the Press Act. **Sr. Chakrabarty Chatterji**, **Maheshwar Chatterjee** and **Harekrishna Ghosh Chatterjee**, arrested with twenty others at Nabadah in connection with the last battle, have been sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment. **Sr. Jitendra Dasgupta** present were released by the police, and **Sr. Maheshwar** was released. **Sr. Chandraharan Das**, President of the District Congress Committee, has been arrested under Section 144 of the I. P. C. **Sr. Nandakrishna Ray** and twelve others have been arrested at Durgam under Section 108, 144 and 117 of the I. P. C. **Sr. Jyoti Prasad**, Secretary of the Hindustan War Council, has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. **Sr. Das Gupta**, editor of *Prabhu*, has been sentenced to two year's simple imprisonment. **Sr. Abanindranath Kumar** has been given 15 months' imprisonment under Section 117 of the I. P. C. at Malda. The police sealed the premises of Khadi Production of Calcutta, and confiscated the salt. **Sr. Tapan Das** has been arrested after the raid. **Sr. P. C. Das**, Secretary of the Congress Civil Disobedience Committee of Calcutta, has been arrested on May 26th. **Sr. Ramachandra Chatterjee**, editor of *Prabhu*, has been sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment under Section 108 A and 120 of the I. P. C. at Calcutta. Twelve phlockers of Rangpur have escaped phlock.

Punjab - **Haroda Rawal** and **Shahar Nath Singh** have been awarded one year's simple imprisonment as a charge of sedition at Jalandhar. **Lala Dhanraj Lal** of Maxwell has been jailed for one year's simple imprisonment on his refusal to accept as a security bond of Rs. 4,000. **Sr. Shashwan**, **Lala Gaurishankar** and **Lala Pashwan** have been given one year's simple imprisonment at Jalandhar. **Hindu Congress Workers** have been sentenced to prison below: **Dr. Mithra** and **Pashu Mangraya** to six months' rigorous, **Sr. R. A. Daul** to six months' simple, **Pashu Pashan** to six months' rigorous, **Sr. Karamjit Bhambhania** and **Lala Jagdish Lal** to four months' rigorous, and **Sr. Chaudhary Jagjit** to four months' simple imprisonment. **Sr. Jitendra Kaur** eight of Ludhiana has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 101A of the I. P. C. **Sr. Mahesh Ghosh** has been sent to jail for a term of one year's simple imprisonment under Section 108 of the Cr. P. C. at Ghazipur. **Dr. Subodh of Mandana**, **Sr. Lakshman** of Kala Khatol and **Sr. Lakshman** of Phatnagar have been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Section 108 of the Cr. P. C. **Sr. Shri**, **Abdul Kabana** and **Sr. Bhikshu** have been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 108 at Jalandhar. The Congressmen have been jailed for eight days' simple imprisonment at Jalandhar. The Congress workers of Jalandhar have been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 108. About 100 volunteers, arrested under Section 34 of the Police Act, have been sentenced to eight days' simple imprisonment at Jalandhar. **Haroda Gauri Nath**, **Lala**, **Pashu**, **Abdulla Sahib** and **Pashu Pashwan** have been given one year's simple imprisonment under Section 108 of Maxwell. **Sr. Ramachand** of Wazir

improvement under Section 74 of the Salt Act. Sri Krishnaswami of Calcutta has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment under Section 217 of the I. P. C. and 74 of the salt Act. On May 29th the police raided the Vadavayam camp and ended all the goads. Fifteen volunteers from Vadai camp have been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 74 of the Salt Act. Twenty two volunteers have been arrested at Vadavayam on May 31, making the total of 176. Of the 115 arrested volunteers at Vadavayam, 31 have been given 2 years' imprisonment, the remaining sent to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Sri G. Ramaswami, the leader of the camp, has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, to default 3 months' further imprisonment. Pundit Nilakantha Das, B.A. of Utkala, has been arrested under the Salt Act.

Corrections

Page 215, column 1st, paragraph 1st, there should be Bengal Civil Disobedience Committee instead of Bengal District Congress Committee.

Page 217, column 1st, paragraph 1st, the clause "who went to the Paldi camp to visit the prisoners" should be corrected by "who visited the prisoners at the Vadavayam camp."

Page 217, column 1st, paragraph 1st, Sri Hanumanrao and Krishnaswami Vyas have been sentenced respectively to 5½ months' and 7½ months' rigorous imprisonment, and not to 6 months and 3 months respectively, as shown in the last issue.

The Story of Gandhi

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Congress Section

Foreign Cloth Boycott

Editor President Congress, P.O. 41, dated May 30th, 1930

All Congress Committees and Foreign Cloth Boycott Committees are requested to carry on vigorous and effective propaganda amongst the masses to induce them to take to self-reliance and hand-spinning.

I. Self-Reliance

The movement if effectively carried out is so to eliminate the lack of foreign cloth would cause a considerable shortage of cloth (about 200 crores of yards) and this would operate to raise the prices of the British cloth. This work could be continued to a considerable extent by the people working to self-reliance. In 1918-19 the country managed with only 200 crores of yards as against the normal consumption of over 200 crores of yards.

Instructions to the People

1. Everyone should exchange with each Khaddi or Swadeshi cloth as he or she has to buy or has purchased and refuse from making any purchases at least for a period of one year.

2. Everyone should examine his or her wardrobe and make surplus Khaddi or Swadeshi cloth if any available for others.

3. Where it is found impossible to carry out clause 1, only such cloth should be purchased as is absolutely necessary for immediate needs.

4. Such purchases should be made in Khaddi, i. e., hand-spun handwoven cloth or failing that in Swadeshi cloth, i. e., cloth manufactured by Indian mills owned and managed by Indians, from year to year only in such mills to the extent of all foreign yarn either in the form of hanks or bales.

5. In purchasing Khaddi one should see that the cloth bears the stamp of the A. I. C. A. Such cloth should be purchased only from Khaddi Bhindaris certified by the A. I. C. A. In purchasing Swadeshi cloth it should be seen that such cloth bears the stamp of an Indian mill declared to be Indian-owned and Indian managed using yarn only spun by such mills.

A list of such mills will be published by the A. I. C. A. for the information of the public. Such mills will also be advised to see that the cloth manufactured by them bears their stamp at both the ends.

II. Increase of Production

Self-reliance is a war time measure to meet temporarily the immediate liability to be created by the shortage. The constructive and permanent way of dealing with the difficulty is to create means for increasing production. The average shortage of cloth per head can be roughly estimated at 5 yds. This would be equivalent to 2 lbs. If only half the people now could be induced to take to spinning, the requisite quantity of yarn would be available by each one of them turning out about 4 lbs. during the year. This is not a very difficult task for it would come to less than 125 yds. per day taking the yarn to be of about 12 counts. There is no dearth of women in this land and the yarn could therefore be easily converted into cloth.

Instructions to the People

1. Everyone should learn to spin. Women's clothes must be made with hand-spun yarn.

2. Everyone who has cloth made to order for self or others.

3. Everyone should produce at least 100 yds. of cotton and wool mixed yarn per day.

(Detailed instructions in spinning, weaving, knitting and the use of pure yarn will be issued by the Congress and A. I. S. A. branches).

Age, May 29th 1933

Motilal Nehru

About Plotting

After President's note on Foreign Cloth Plotting circulated in Congress.

I expect to find that the Working Committee made error on the plotting of foreign cloth since two met with the impression it is entitled to from various lay circles of foreign cloth sales. These circles are strong in sales whether under various negotiations between them on the one hand and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and certain Congressmen on the other and are pointing forward a letter given by Mahatma Gandhi to various representatives of the Delhi cloth merchants. As regards the negotiations or understandings with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others the Working Committee has definitely expressed its inability to welcome them and they acted on reason for the withdrawal of plotting. The letter of Mahatma Gandhi makes two points very clear. The first is that in his opinion the plotting of foreign cloth sales should not be proposed as withdrawal under any agreement or arrangement with the dealers and the second is that if any such arrangement has already been agreed to by any Congress representative such agreement should be rejected and refused to. Here on the second point that the cloth dealers rely and claim that the Working Committee is bound to accept such arrangement as have already been arrived at.

This contention has no basis. But apart from the people with which I shall deal presently I have to point out that the Working Committee resolution was passed after a copy of Mahatma Gandhi's letter had been made available to it and after a full and careful consideration of Mahatma's opinion. That being so it is the Working Committee resolution and not anything that Mahatma Gandhi might have said before the meeting was placed that is binding on all Congress representatives. But as I have said the substance of the dealer is entirely without foundation. As a matter of fact no completed agreement had been arrived at between the dealers of any particular section of foreign cloth sales before the resolution was passed. My belief, a member of the Delhi War Council but not a Congressman, informed me on the telephone as Member of the House proposed by the foreign cloth dealers of Delhi which, he told me, the War Council was bound to accept subject to my sanction. My reply to him was that they should send a representative to Mahatma Gandhi to ascertain his views. It was in accordance with this advice that Mr. Khanna was deputed to see Mahatma Gandhi and it was on Mr. Khanna's report that Mahatma Gandhi gave me the letter (replied upon) I find that as already on the 3rd May

after the receipt of Mr. Khanna's letter met in Mahatma Gandhi the Delhi War Council refers to the terms of the arrangement as having been discussed at an "informal meeting" on the previous day and for the first time interprets the special substance of the War Council to those arrangements. It is obvious from this that no definite or final agreement had been arrived at before the 3rd May and that afterwards was taken of Mahatma's letter to set up an intricate arrangement as a completed agreement. I spent three hours with Mr. Khanna in Delhi and carefully read all the papers to which he drew my attention. The above remarks are based on a study of these papers. I cannot allow much latitude to debate the resolution of the Working Committee.

The position here relating to the so-called arrangements to withdraw and Lahore have now been laid before me but have required I find that various individual Congressmen did submit to the proposal of the dealers of those places where an account of the support they had received from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took on their words. I expect I am unable to look upon the action of individual Congressmen as an agreement, by a Congress representative as such. It is that that Mahatma's letter speaks of the agreement of Congressmen and not of Congress representatives but it would be unreasonable to think that he was contemplating to have a personal conversation by any set of one or more individual members thereof.

An aspect of this I was informed by the B. P. C. C. that neither the Boycott Committee nor the B. P. C. C. finally approved of the arrangement recommended by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the foreign cloth dealers of Calcutta but that on the contrary they were opposed to the instructions of the Working Committee on the subject.

Some days after the passing of the Working Committee's resolution and previously after it was published in Bombay I received a communication from Mr. Captain, the head of the lady volunteers at Bombay advising a draft arrangement called by Mr. Chhabildas Desai. This arrangement could be possibly be altered by Mahatma's letter but was recommended to me as a more reasonable one under the circumstances. I replied to this Captain telling him that the proposed arrangement would be more acceptable in several times but was not valid in the substance of the inclusive direct developments suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. For these reasons I expressed my inability to accept the arrangement.

It will then be seen that no commitment of Mahatma Gandhi made in the way of carrying out the Working Committee's resolution. I therefore tell upon all Congress representatives to begin and carry on a vigorous campaign of plotting foreign cloth sales of every kind and description wherever possible without regard to any arrangements or agreements entered in have been arrived at. The one point to be insisted on is that no foreign cloth shall be sold whether it is part of the working cloth or it is in the way to secure some of others placed. I hope that no body will be shaken on this regard.

Age, May 29th 1933

Motilal Nehru

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Editor: Johannes Thümler

10 11

chopping, and even red oil makes a difference in terms of the final drive and comfortable riding, which is why the pulsed red line is the real English name for the manual transmission.

at the start of mid-day on 10th, just as the weather was bright and there were few clouds of that day. Many of these men being carried on my stretcher, others would just struggle from the ground to the hospital wards.

²The hunting and shooting has been more successful. H-091 said the ducks and geese "I presented" added the items to what the Saragatians were, ducks, and so on. He said that the ducks are in the water at that season.

Recently I have enjoyed the song "And my love is
stand on feet as I saw those birds were, when, but
a few years previously, had gone back absolutely
muzzled, covered in mud, evidence, now (yes) from before
the Redwood and Western Forest Road in Calif.

There was a passing note with his associates and intimates as to how that he could not be too far from his family and his home and when he was so far away, that he did not know how to take his rest. There was another glimpse for himself with his close family and friends and nearby was a full, strong, Mississippi river steamboat.

^aU.S. Food and Drug Administration (2001).

'He has reserved himself better in the stomach, the hands and right leg,' they replied. 'Then he knows we have really injured him, having been badly operated by the others.'

He went on again -- how my attention was attracted by the sound of strong, downy whistles blowing, intermixed with heart-breaking groans. It was a young man weeping in agony. His lips continued to be motionless, and at intervals he would suddenly raise up all his arms, and he would walk with the cane.

¹He has had a deadly blow right on the forehead, they said, and he has been running blood. He has also had his trousers severely soiled, which has distressed his nerves.²²

They finished up, and applied it to the head and damaged parts, which gradually healed him.

And the two great drugs that belong to medicine, where
you cannot still move and even resist.

However, to ensure I could give the most accurate of feedback, I didn't forward the data and

shampoo, and even red oil makes a difference in terms of the final drive and comfortable driving, which is what you want to have and English cars are best suited to it.

4. The various of the manuscript 'discourse of the
policy, of which the English lords had in common an
opinion. The day will know what is going on. His
first was by necessity, the such high-spirited English
nobles as the Countess Anne M. D. and the Collector
of the at home have all done so the last of winter.

What, then, has become of Joseph's power, Longfellow?

His attitude is important not because what they have been doing is *Therapeutic*.

The *Journal of the Synagogue*, too, has a short article of the "Yah Lovers" (which was originally intended to be long). The Synagogue was much in vogue among only the legal practitioners of Israel and consequently, but the authorship, thought of perhaps to employ other materials. Thus, we find: they, perhaps to try and lead a chain of Synagogue in their system, the authorship thought was from Exodus 144, including any gathering of more than ten persons an unlawful assembly.

While this emergency law on force, as might be argued, is the official word, that it is possible to try and dissuade a collection of people by false charges if they refuse to go away when ordered, even though the individuals are absolutely innocent, and know not to be aware to have a useful person.

First, much breast expansion can happen within the first year of a man's life.

That suffering should threaten the innocent is terrible. They have no shelter, should we call it? The New Yorkers.

Offices should also be updated to a current oil dispensing system to allow efficient use.

1. *Parthenocarpus* var. *herveyi*, arboreal, monoecious, scandent

• These tests are tested on private parts, electronic devices, and etc.

5. The amount of money raised depends on the number of people who attend the event.

4. Training all of instructors and monitoring of class hours.

3. Pressing and squaring of the bundles will
be more homogeneous and efficient.

6. Freezing of, wrapped over by bags of snow, after loading them the white.

7. Thinning of crowded map with three budgets is also well solved.

4. Willing to become even more so they can be out of the woods.

5. Thinking of you and those who have broken, sometimes even when they are unconscious and

10. Looking at me after they had having consciousness :

And after this sleep too many to pain, leaders had courage and bravery, calculated in how to reach in possible, the most sacred feelings of the Satyagrahi.

The whole effort is one of the most dearest, cold blooded and respectable in the history of nations.

India has now reached the true nature of the British flag, and with that collection the flag is doomed.

Mrs.

The Great Experiment

"This is perhaps my last and greatest experiment."

Thus has Gandhiji more than ever described his life's struggle which is now in progress, and he underlines the significance of what is going on before our eyes today, we should remember and ponder over these words.

What is the experiment?

It is nothing more, nor less than the perfect and universalisation of the ethical truths which have been handed down to us since the beginning of time, through all the great religions of the world. To discover, tested by time, to cultivate, tolerate to test different, to overcome, struggle by truth.

And of all the teachings of the past, Gandhiji is more strikingly sensible than of Jesus and the great experiment—truth itself today has the validation of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

So what are we undertaking?

It is this—the slightest ray of the Christian world saying itself 'one of the forces of an organized against a vast movement which is not to give the Christian which Jesus preached.

Thus tonight 'Christians' among has followed on the people at home. These people are now starving, and have asked the 'Christians' for bread but in reply they have returned a stone. Nay more, —they have been unable to do the right thing, but true to the spirit of their beloved leader, they have turned to the 'Christians' for other aid. Yes, and they are being actually working on the left side as well, yet they expect, for Gandhiji has given them the instruction that in this way, and in this way alone, and one of last be overcome. Neither will we work well, for that is the reason that in which suffering mankind has been suffering these countless years. Overcome and with good, replace with non-violence that the whole world may be broken and mankind may enter upon a new life.

And Gandhiji, who launched this great experiment for the redemption of suffering humanity, has been asked from the world by the leading 'Christians', and failed in a prayer. But he has put his trust in us, and our hands be laid upon his, that we may realize the sacred ideal for which he suffers and pays.

Now great is our responsibility! Let us not waver for a moment in the cause which is now upon us. No violence, truth, unshakable courage, the following: the first two God grant us the third, and with the victory must be ours.

Mrs.

World Significance of Satyagraha

[The following is taken from a long letter to Mr. Richard Gregg by Mahatma Gandhi, written at sea, on his way back to America, after his second visit to India.]

As I see it, the greatest struggle in India is the most important that has ever taken place in the history of the world. British might and power has shown, but did not suffer because of its use. Christ taught and preached it and suffered thereby but did make its meaning clear. It has not only taught and preached it and suffered by it but has taught mankind how to understand it and use it as a disinterested, unselfish struggle for a large, moral cause. This has overcome all possibilities, not only for India but for all the world.

People who have closely observed politics, diplomacy and governmental action in all countries of the West realize how very differently and profoundly all these are based on force, cunning, dishonesty and selfishness. The realization of man's feelings and thoughts, the interest of a small group, have which and are confined and action it all is.

For this reason, the success of the present struggle will profoundly modify the character and weaken the power of every government now existing. This will take place because the success of Satyagraha against the mightiest of governments will prove the weakness of all governments, since they all have the same basis, and hence the strength and influence of present governmental methods all over the world. At the same time it will lighten and lighten all the true forces of freedom in every land. All the oppressed, —whether exploited coloured races or the working classes under undemocratic governments, will feel a thrill of new life and hope.

At the time of the Russian Revolution there was a mighty stirring among the masses in every country, so that the cultural and political barriers crumbled on their bases. But I believe that the results of a successful nationwide Satyagraha in India will do far more for human freedom than any previous revolution in the world's history.

The Great War destroyed freedom in Europe but in Europe Satyagraha has appeared. There the whole moral and political system is based on violent division of race and race. Victory by rendering false of reality is a most potent attraction. Once dishonest, processes of maintenance, rule is all violent and industrial life. The political machine says it all. When that is so greatly weakened it will be by the independence of India, then the whole associated out of ideas and controlling forces will drop and India rise. Thus Satyagraha in India will wipe away an enormous falsehood that has poisoned the life of all Europe for over a thousand years.

In the economic sphere the effect will also be enormous. As you have seen, I consider Satyagraha the greatest of capitalism as well as of war. Therefore a successful Satyagraha will prove for more potent against capitalism than any violent revolution or class war could attain but loss or could ever be. It will greatly make unknown previously. It will alter in

* Gandhiji.

every country for wearing conspicuous open shawl-dress, and shawl-dress signifies

In every European map of the world, only indicate the position of India and Indian thought, but will make way for a real understanding of India in the West. As I see it, one of the greatest obstacles in our way towards thinking at present is the language which is every Westerner's tool for India, growing out of the conviction that the Western makes Western. There only be weaknesses in India as in all nations, but they are not the result of change. When the Westerners have shown themselves incapable in, all their attempts will crumble. That better part, a true understanding based upon respect, will grow up. Dago is profoundly right about all this.

Your work will show the French Emperor more powerfully and more nobly than a well clothed statistic. Nevertheless, it will, sooner or later be an enormous help to the future for good in America and the rest of the world as well as in Britain. So I had yesterday printed to give all, because of the India you are making for the freedom of the world.

What is to be Done?

Even if all the production of the mills in India were available for consumption in Hindustani cloth we should have a shortage of some 100 crores of yards. But as a matter of fact some 50% of the mill supplies are known in India are exported and arranged by foreigners, and the production of these cannot be counted as Hindustani cloth. This increases the shortage by some 50 crores of yards, bringing up the total shortage, with which we have got to deal, to some 150 crores of yards.

What, then, is to be done?

The cloth cut, work day and night and increase their production to some extent in various ways. But the great increase of output, and the setting of our houses on a sound economic basis for the future, must be looked for in Khadi.

But even Khadi will require a little time to make up the shortage. The whole country has got to take to spinning, and the men too get in the work, even cloth, as it is now when nearly all our experienced spinners are in jail. Some special schemes must, therefore, be provided as an emergency measure. And this must be self-reliance.

Public Meetings and others have already told us of this necessity. Let us, therefore, take up the matter in all earnest, and see what we can do.

The maximum number of sets (one set, as I think) that a person should use when in town is three, and the maximum may be accepted as two. For the last few years I have found three sets per set to be enough for my requirements, and I am sure that of us, and perhaps a further "careless" woman, which means we had to use more than four sets of clothes in the year.

In this way the rush in Khadi, which is leading to a dangerous situation, as mentioned elsewhere in this issue, and the breathing space needed for increasing Khadi production and saving up home production, can be achieved.

This little number is not much, when we think of the great choice to use

Khadi

Danger! Khadi!

Leaves of Khadi, and will, makers of the boycott movement, because of a terrible danger which is now threatening you on all sides!

You all want Khadi, and you are rushing to the bazaar to buy what the market tells you is pure, beautiful Khadi. But it is nothing of the sort! It is cheap and cloth (often foreign) spun and woven in loom like Khadi, so it is hard-woven cloth made from coarse mill yarn, huge quantities of which come from abroad. (These are production have grown up with the increasing demand for Khadi.)

Has what you are doing by buying the cloth? You are helping the foreign capitalist and damaging the poor Indian spinner. Whereas you are meaning to do exactly the opposite.

And there is another thing which is now happening, and which will be an even worse trap for you, you and many will soon damage to the spinners. Unemployed spinners are getting light of spinners and weavers throughout the country, who have been working all these years for the production of genuine Khadi, and are looking down with high noses to produce large quantities of inferior and often inferior Khadi which is being sold in the market at shockingly high prices and which you, as pure nationalists, are ready to buy. This can only help to flood the market with bad and spurious Khadi, but it seriously reduces the output of good Khadi. By drawing away the handicraftsmen and weavers into a vulgar and insecure trade.

What can you do?

In the first place, do not buy Khadi unless you can produce it from a shop, controlled by the All India Spinners' Association. And if, as will often be the case during these days of high demand, you are not able to produce what you want at the Khadi Bazaar, hold them to go on to the open bazaar and buy genuine Khadi.

If it is a thousand times better to go without Khadi for the time being, than to buy these spurious productions of the open bazaar, which are the deadliest enemies of Khadi and the boycott movement.

But there is no need for you to go long without Khadi if you will remember and act upon Gandhi's advice, which he was pleading to every man, woman and child just before he went. Spin for yourselves. Three of you who cannot get clothless, each take turns. Then your consumption of yarn will be reduced. This is the necessary remedy for the present crisis.

Spin at home, carefully, both for you and get it woven into cloth. In this way you will get not only genuine Khadi, but Khadi with a precious treatment which only those who have known the experience can appreciate.

Try this experiment. I assure you there is a unique charm about wearing cloth woven from yarn of your own spinning.

When every home spins for its own requirements, we shall indeed be strong. Spinning will save many from India to Europe, and we shall be able to defy all the capitalists of the world.

This is no day-dream. This is a hard economic fact.

Mrs.

Young India

The Burden of Gujarat

(By JAGJIVAN BHARGAVA)

Early in April to eleventh of June! The nation has fought only for two months. And yet how exhaustive has been the endeavour and the sacrifice. The struggle has only begun. Let the nation make a mistake in thinking to be at light by the dawn. We must dig in and stand firm like a rock before and before retreating. We are fighting for the redemption of life in a deep nation. The large responsibility is thrown to our small frame of mortal flesh. It is a life and death struggle in more sense than that, in a life and death between two individuals. The people and the nation in every person, village, town and village must stand firm never to carry it to a successful issue, successful of detaching talk of time. There is no change of heart yet. The day is still colour upon its face. Well equipped bands whose sympathy has widely been secured by the selfless sacrifice of brave men and women is not out of Gujarat do not believe that the day is won by far blood. They will always in some sense that they have fought the battle of the nation. Let a nation be born. There alone will a change of heart come. The point of the change does not depend simply on a clear statement of the facts of existence of our State. This Conference. Words can be easily moved by clever politicians. It has been done before. It is being done once again. We are left with the substance of independence is the true thing as substantial transfer of power. We will have much more of fighting in coming days. But under words, deeds cannot be accomplished. That is why the very leaders of the nation from behind the scenes have been just down a few feet programme of deeds for Gujarat to carry out before a satisfactory formula for the terms of a Round Table Conference can meet the wishes.

The day has taken of a million, however, has not arrived. The nation has yet to give though the We have no but full only in northern land. The Government is fighting us with its back to the wall. It knows full well the game involved in the struggle. It is therefore moving towards the defeat spirit of the nation. It is so in its mind and reason. The spirit of the nation the spirit has reached. Experience only gives a new mind a glow. The God comes are national of the nation. This is done. We know that all the persons have had their hearts and in it. It is also true that there are many are devoted of their loved workers. The burden of carrying on the movement has fallen on men belonging to the rank and file. Each place is left to its own resources. But all this is as it should be. Let us not forget that we are engaged in a painful, though uncertain, war. By no way as the day comes must not be disappointed in its own way. The Government must be badly dealt, each place winning its own place. The only thing remains to all must be given determination to fight in

the better way, against obstacles to those who may for the time being, be in charge of such centre and mind otherwise in the word of aggression. Those alone will enable us to stand for the first time in history.

The coming months will witness scenes of a serious kind of the nation's life in front. Thousands of people have even while some are already in the city. They may be released in my words, even before their words appear in print. Events and incidents may appear in minutes. Consider of the will of the people by means, methods may be used. There thousands attempted. The struggle may be more frequently and without symptoms of age or age. The fact is that Government is a a battle. It has lost its nerve. It is not losing its confidence. In danger of finally losing its hold over India, it is looking left and right, wherever the enemy moves its hand. These further attempts to press down the people will prove more futile with time. And yet through all this improve the nation, of a a new era, must live, fight as and war. The blood will fall most heavily on Gujarat. Its workers and masses must give their bodies. Every citizen of every town and village has a duty to perform and a courage to give in the country of India. The much Gujarat has suffered, the body lives as possibly as other Indian too. The man of violence can be carried with violence. He is asked to deal with, but from these cannot another movement. He, British work and industry are asked to Gujarat. All its leaders have to be killed in this process. The spirit of resistance in there, still contained. The Ministry has provoked the new Conference meet for Gujarat than to any other part of India. Gujarat will give a new thing truly that probably other provinces. In men and daughters, there is no doubt, will not give reason that before people of their working life is destroyed, leadership through day-over seem to be, and of face reflecting determination to do in the last days, resulting history in the end. In the morning that Gujarat does this, will an example once again be an inspiration to the whole of India.

The Red Flag Escapes the Jail

A correspondent writes to us from Dhapa that a struggle about the Red Flag, or the Flag, the police from the National Flag of a painting centre. The Government tried to take the flag and to take the name of the flag and the N. F. started attacking the villagers. This has happened a flagpole centre at Dhapa. The Dhapa Magazine made the promise to pay attention to the village square—a fighting ground. Without being helped with any legal ceremony to had the place cleared by burning everything out.

Since the flag was burnt, hundreds of fire rockets are being continuously sent to the spot. Look back at a nation the spot is illuminated until they fall down everywhere. One volunteer, a lad of 16, took 24 hours to make contributions. The large number of rockets that fallen in the bathroom of the officers, by the volunteers have succeeded in keeping them surprised. As usual elsewhere, the District Magazine is presently expressing the sympathy to the other villages.

I. C. K.

Stone was removed the body of Jagannath Shal who was run over by the armoured car." On hearing about arrests on 22nd morning witness was going to Congress office to find out whether the report was true, but when he had got on to an auto he was hit by a big crowd inside the gate and when he shut the doors was locked. The 3 armoured lorries standing in the driveway were subverting people in various cars parked under the ground porch-roof. Some the gate of the house was opened and these lorries were let in. Shortly after when the crowd had begun to melt many armoured cars appeared on the road without any warning etc. Many people were run over, one of them being Dhanraj who was caught dead by the witness removed with the help of doctors from the road there. The witness went with the body to the deceased's house. When returning there he had seen many more cars, witness saw British soldiers firing over Kailash Gate. There was an anti-air-craft on the side of the bridge. The people were panicked and huddled. This confusion continued till the 23rd. On 23rd-24th witness stated that when the troops left on the 23rd the safety of the city was dependent on witnesses.

Lal Singh Arora, a leader of Patna, who was arrested once, was present at the public meeting on the 23rd at which it was announced that the next day 10000 shops would be picketed but was not present at the time of firing the next morning. He had however seen from his balcony many shops being taken away at about 2 p.m. On coming down he found about 12 of these were been captured. Some 10 or 12 armoured cars were being taken away. Shal's continued on 24th and 25th also. The troops resumed occupation on May 1 when witness found it difficult even to go home as there was a stop of bus in the street. The British soldiers got possession of people's balconies, who witness's balcony was where possession of. He had to address the Political Agent about this matter.

An old man of 70, Hari Das, employee of the Patnaer Civil Cooperative Society Ltd., was the next witness. He is a Congress volunteer and arrested as a picket on the 24th of April. Witness had attended the public meeting on the 22nd which was, partly peaceful and at which speakers had exhorted the people to observe strict non-violence. The procession on the 22nd was also strictly non-violent and the armoured lorries were attacking the people to commit physical violence. They were surrounding themselves at the doors. Witness saw two armoured cars coming through the crowd when it had begun to melt away. No warning was issued and so several people were run over. Witness saw five or six severely wounded and probably two or three had died already. Witness helped in removing the wounded and killed. Witness saw the armoured car advance but did not see any body getting hit in it. Firing was still going on when witness left his place at 12.30. Next morning witness was arrested when going to picket a large shop and was released the same day. Asked by the Chairman why he had refused to go a witness at the subsequent one, witness replied, "Could it not, much longer?"

Kishorlal Mishra of Patna, the witness taken up, next, gave a brief account of events leading up to the

picketing of liquor shops on 27/4. Shal, witness was present at the Congress office where issued orders to his main forces to go away from Patna and Rajahmundry. When the houses got picketed the two lorries got stuck and were being followed by a large crowd. They surrounded themselves at the doors. Their aim was attempt to surround them. People had begun to disperse when crowd got organized on the road. They moved from the Kailash Gate. When the first car was being moved, the collision with the motorcycle occurred and the motor cyclist was run over. When being opened witness went away to Congress office to give information there. On May 4th British soldiers visited the Congress office taking away everything including cars and documents pertaining to activities on the 22nd. Volunteers present were either arrested or taken with lorries of other Ministry occupation vehicles and British soldiers somewhere attack were witness. On this occupation witness said it was extremely difficult to keep documents at Rajahmundry and referred to the case of Peking shop who, he learned, had been driven into some unknown jail (according to reports for 14 years) because he had certain documents in his possession. These and letters were being used to demand people from appearing before the Congress Executive Committee.

A member of the first batch of pickets pointed out liquor shops by the Patnaer Congress Committee, named Shalish Bhatia, Rajesh Patel, was the next witness when he was going to the Kailash Gate belonging to a police station was Kanyo (Bhai) and Rajesh, the arrested leaders, being taken away, followed by a big crowd. Later witness saw an armoured car taking along without stopping any warning. After about three minutes armoured vehicles carrying corpses. Rifle reports were heard by these hours. Witness saw one woman and one child killed by bullets at 3 p.m. Witness was arrested and was kept standing in the sun without food and water till 4 o'clock, then was handed over to the police and later released. From April 23rd to May 1st witness had to attend at the store every day. On May 4th British soldiers called the Congress office carrying a lot of all is captured and leaving the witnesses with less guts of rifles. Once released the witness stated that in an estimate the number of those killed should be between 100 and 200. The liquor shops being picketed was near the road of action.

Hriday Chandra Arora a husband of Patnaer appearing next told the Committee that on 22nd morning he happened to go to God School near Kailash Gate in long back his daughter he had seen the crowd gathered there. It was quite peaceful and was moving calmly along. After the armoured lorries had surrounded the stores, the people again moved back and were peacefully heading on, when two armoured cars entered at the Kailash Gate. There was some quarrel between the two cars, and a motor cycle was seen in between. He then was wounded and might a close people were run over. Witness saw the motor cycle collide with the rear part of the car, and the motor cyclist fell down. Then, after a Britisher gave the order for firing, witness described an army. Rifle reports were heard all day long. Men and child all had no water, grew weak and while the car was

beliefs to verify the allegations, and even their tales of protest against unfairnesses! No, these humanitarian misgivers were left to Hindus, Muslims, and lawyers, who were naturally all loath to them. We must not be misapprehended in belittling the great benefits the missionary ladies had conferred on this land. We shall be ever grateful for the spirit of education and the interest they have manifested in us for several years. A recognition of these services does not preclude us from criticising them but on the other hand we feel we are as they hoped to gain not humbly the feelings of our friends if it be mainly as a form of gratitude for what we have received at their hands. We hope they will excuse the complaint by frankly telling us of any facts they may feel sure.

On Them and On Liberties

The aim referring my cousin from an English woman who has waited her hands off the blood by stopping the war in the Chamber Legislative Council to which she was appointed and by declaring the Roman Hindu model wanted to last only a few days was Mrs Dickinson is an inflexible model of incompatible slavery. We often felt her due consideration on the moral status she has shown manifested by this one single act. Mrs Dickinson has witnessed for her Hindu mother, effectively that she would have done by granting a session every day for the rest of her life.

Speech Feeding

Watching the woman in India at close quarters, with all that before us, the statement in the press attributed to Catherine Tagore seems rather weird. He is reported to have said, "The suffering would have been terrible greater under any conceivable other than the British." The only explanation we can offer is the misstatement of the newspaper's carried on in Great Britain with the help of press and cable censorship. If Dr Tagore were present here it would have been said in English but an eye to read that of Tagore.

The same political programme is also perhaps responsible for the misstatement and misinterpretation made by the Manchester Guardian on the same day. "On your side we have to recognize the fact that when the Indian police have to be used to suppress a mass agitation it is impossible for the officers that come and very only self-respecting officers at that. Why should the police police, some of whom would gladly have been changed over to be for the control aspect of the Government apparatus? Does not the Manchester Guardian know that it was a European agent who stirred directly into the case of the Benares? that it was a European police official at Benares that killed a woman on her breast and laid on her chest that it was the flower of British civilization that was directing the gruesome effort in various places that it was the European officer's orders that the policemen in Patna were ordered to shoot at the rank of boys shot, and that it was the poor people who raised their hands under that open fire 'on our national feelings and innocent women and helpless children.' No experience worthy of respect will ever shift responsibility and attempt to shift it to children but also to law children. After having explained the

complexity of the events and made 'us' your 'of them, to know all those for the situation on them is most necessary of anyone claiming to be justifiably. They first reach us to be placed and then demonstrate to us how shown are to be looked about. There again is another strong reason why we should discuss our misapprehensions from coming in the Indian police and staff officers. Why add insult to injury? Here we are without remark! But this and a lot of. We have to put up our hands and stand our heads for further suffering.

A Deduction

During the last two months the Indians have demonstrated beyond doubt that they were deserving of the misapprehensions and we explain to them as others and they have proved in the satisfaction of ourselves, secondly their inability to govern and their lack of understanding of citizenship. The case of it is none of our citizenship still hope to leave the lot of governing from these Indians. Let us pray that God will give them more such knowledge. They talk of "Domestic Service with inferiority." Yes, "inferiority" indeed from British civilization which has always proved fatal to us. It is so, they, after the exhibition of misapprehensions we have had to see, that the pages of Government are marked from such heads as the earliest possible moment.

Heads

When a means of expressing one's feeling is too often used it loses its significance. It becomes a commonplace and its force is lost. Take a child that cries in the last period, so you will take any sense of its apparent grief. Yet when the strength of the young mind is not at the first and the mother of it has never in the world to be placed as 'head.' When we know that a certain individual says merely 'yes,' 'no,' and 'my,' 'my,' and 'mine' all other good living words show that for new sentences we speak a great deal of importance to that individual. Words were intended to express one's protest in a vehement way when an extraordinary circumstance called for such a demonstration. A few weeks ago we used to be surprised at the illegal acts of the Government and the efforts to the people of India. Since then we know that hearing of heads of non-violent persons, Indian women, 'sub-brutal treatment of women and killing of dead women and shooting killed boys, appears to be the height of British civility, decency and having women. Let us not be any longer surprised at these things. They are but natural to our present Government. Some months ago we would have stood against or even as a crowd, now, using this term, on a death sentence easily having it. Let us realize that this is the 'order' under which we live. If a police British officer believes in old women as a 'divinely living' Government of a British police has now no desire to death because men of character and courage, let us remember we are under such a law. It has become a commonplace and tells us an extraordinary discrepancy between its protest against it. Death must remain a potent force of popular demonstration and that we know we are under the laws of Britain.

So let us not waste hours on arrests and legal charges for the present and we can safely look forward

in the east better to new towns at instance being accompanied by high dignitaries when we first have to cross to Assam but for the first two seasons of such journeys.

The Month

The volunteer Lalbahadur Sahai was one who was inspired with action and by accident as a previous head of Chittagong. As soon as he was physically able to move about after the last heavy outbreak, he with Sheshbhusan proceeded to organize the Salt Depot by Chittagong. These were treated in a full measure of India's message by the police but remained adamant and refused to retreat. For 10 hours they held their ground without food. At last Mr. Justice D.P. had been badly treated in his case in the 'Volunteers' Camp. They were too weak even to get out with what little strength was left the inebriated couple crawled on towards the salt depot again. Seeing their unresponsibility upon Mr. Justice had them arrested and awarded them with twelve months rigorous. If this spirit spreads we shall soon witness the Salt

J. C. K.

Satyagraha in Volokanayan

The Volokanayan office has found India Satyagraha office, copies from Trichopoly under date 24 June 1930.

"The daily newspaper contains very little news about what is happening at Volokanayan. But very curious things are happening there. Since the original camp was demolished by the Government, daily batches of volunteers of 15, 25 and 50 are going there. Every batch is directed by the police as an authorized assembly and placed under guard. The process of the volunteers are watched and all the money that the volunteers etc. as possession of are taken over by the police, with what rights God and the justice integrity of the police alone know. The leader of every batch is detained at Volokanayan and the rest taken over to various places like Bhatia, Indrapuram and Terawananda under cover of being tried in those places by some magistrates, and then let off lightly."

Autobiography

Vol. II

The second and last for the present book volume of Mr. Story of the Mahatmas with Youth, pp. 356. Durg Ganga, bound in cloth, with index and illustrations photographs of Gandhi. Price Rs. 3-0-0 plus Rs. 0-10-0 for postage and postage. For foreign countries 10 s. or \$ 3, post free.

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Mahatma P. Datt	Swamp	10-0-0
Lalbahadur	Kamathi Datt	1-0-0
Kamathi Mahatma Datt	Kamathi Datt	1-0-0
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Kamathi Mahatma	Swamp	0-0-0
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Haroon Mahatma	Swamp	10-0-0
A. Ganga	Swamp	10-0-0
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Government in Great Britain have indicated that children and adults are going to be more placed with dignity than in cages. The following table will show at a glance the number of animals to be suffered.

Material	Size of 1.5 cm cube	Material	Size of 1.5 cm cube
Chrysomelids	55	Praon	11
Bees	49	Geck	11
Blowflies	22	Scabellid	23
Earwigs	4	Mayflies	14
Houseflies	59	Chrysomelids	4
Housebeetles	4	Parasit	25
Waspbees	6	Beetles	2

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¹⁷ AOGEC Press reports materials made also have appeared in and it is reported that at Kufra, in the desert of Sudan, 20 airplanes were badly damaged by a so-called "radio reflex" employed by "saboteur" parties, and two airplanes owned by "Musharraf" has succumbed in the process. At Kufra, Gadhafi has been quoted and has openly welcomed the "saboteurs".

"Various contingents are scattered throughout the districts for the enforcement of Chhatravasi law. In some districts chhatravasis have started carrying their arms, and in the district of Baran 50 chhatravasis have already resigned. At Thapat Kharwar and Jp. Mandlaipada have also resigned their posts of Sub-Inspector of Police and Head Constable respectively in Baran District. One more Sub-Inspector and one assistant have resigned their posts in the same district."

The Measure of H

Mr. Boyd Tucker is a well known writer of the *Amateur Motorist* and was a close friend with Goodrich during his last year in office. The following letter was addressed by him to Goodrich during his (Goodrich's) last year in office.

²² I arrived in India on my return from America during the week of the Indian Congress. While waiting George Fugard I had the opportunity to talk with Miny Jassi, and spent several days with Hriday Mahtab. I became convinced that there was a considerable amount of common ground between the Indian politicians to go the length to bring to being about a solution of the Indian problem. Therefore I was very much disappointed when I found that you had rejected the Round Table Conference, and were leaving the Congress in a declaration of Complete Independence. My regret, that were all with Miny-jassi, but I felt that he was standing for international friendship as against national and racial differences. I believed as I still believe that politicians have only to despise and the participation of such national motives.

"But your present programme has thoroughly convinced me, that your late Government and a surely equal republic are the best means, but a positive knowledge that existing foreignness and anger here prevents and forbids. As I read the reports of your minister I became not only satisfied, but actually surprised at a colder and harsher type of man. The display of anger which you have manifested seems devoted to change the whole temper of continental opinion throughout the world.

"You have clearly influenced the British labor union all minute on their role of India, as is evidenced by the simple welcoming or rather lack of enthusiasm—we are witnessing today. I accept this as the first taste of ultimate victory, and an overwhelming testimony of the wisdom of the course you are taking. Even so I am feeling the painful effect of Kalyanaka, as I believe the leaders, as well as the masses are going to be affected by it. You may have been somewhat misled by circumstances to begin your campaign before the country as a whole was prepared for the introduction of a universal franchise, but the spiritual power which you are generating will support the masses of India hereafter both those who've moved west within the national group and those who stay.

"I am very pleased that you began with the small student groups for theosophical research, righteousness and unity in the present world for which you are fighting but righteousness is the light itself. There were no apostles and positively not yet enough, for without complete devotion to truth and righteousness there cannot really come unity. For the demagogue you are giving is much more than a mere example as a few you should possess at theosophical. It is a wonderful phenomenon of spiritual unity the waves of which are carried to all parts of the universe.

I believe it must have been your confidence in your ability to convert others that gave you the drive enough to get yourself with such local determination to this movement. People are so accustomed to self practices that many may look back from the high spiritual plane to which you are carrying them, and at this time you may for the time being feel an intense sadness and fear. But you shall not have failed for you will have given a new character to the community and at the same time you will have weakened the forces against you. If only your confidence in this great, the world, leading to enlightenment and release, just today will move a right type of freedom, then my nation has yet known, you will have developed that discipline of the one will make later to the self-government, in the in state in all other way. The progress of freedom conscience and the standing army will have found in only lasting solution, and the breakdown of a present government will have been laid with an new system of in the future, based upon a code, and the rule, dependent, and the people come and have upon a new basis, and a left one for a new founded state, a new.

"I believe that you have discovered the moral equivalent of war, for which none of good will have been seeking. It is perhaps one for me to try to encourage you by pointing out that as Father's generation was called on to act alone, your mine has I hope that your present actions has only been made possible by that same thinking and action on which rested, but forgotten, wholeheartedly or not, some of the core values. You should remember that God has made you the instrument to his hands of strong and great conviction of Himself in the human community.

"How I wish I could be with you in this struggle. I should like to be near the great heart of this movement which I could feel. Its spiritual warmth and power and do my best to give a sympathetic response of it to my fellow countrymen."

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Editor: Jaiaramdas Dandekar

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No. 25

Signs of the Times

The rural situation in Gandhinagar seems not much to the credit of the present movement, and the minds of the parents of Shapur, which I describe below, is a striking example of the fact.

Through the intervention of the well-known Shapuris of Viramgam, the parents of Shapur desired that the Shapuris living scattered in the civil disturbances campaign, and some days ago they decided to come out themselves in hundreds, men and women together, and make a mass march on a salt lake of the neighbourhood.

Shapur is twenty miles by rough road from Viramgam, and it has no railway station within less than 15 miles in any side. It is, therefore, a completely rural district. The Viramgam Gandhian Committee through its efforts, and that has brought it into close touch with the salt struggle.

The account, as I was able to gather it in the spot, from the parents and Sh. Jaiaramdas is as follows:

The June 15th there during previous sat sat on their march. It appears that they possessed completely surrounded throughout. Some villages took part, Kumbha, Kumbhar, Jajbhav, Ghada, Jajbhav, Kumbhar and Kumbha. Their plan was to march by the Shapuris camp at Shapur, and from there, in company with Sh. Jaiaramdas Shapur and other Shapuris, to go on to the salt lake about one and a half miles further off, and then return salt.

But the police came out and stopped them before they could reach even Shapur. Just when that way conveyed them to open plainy fields with a narrow road, over the Government's baggage, some 50 police stood across their path. The parents came up to them and the police began to beat with baton and rough sticks. The men and women of each village began following up one behind the other. The first village group moved a good distance, and their two leaders were arrested. As they were thus beginning to break up, the group at a second village came forward. All the villages as when I have spoken of are saying that hundreds were present, and some people got beat by them.

After the groups of three different villages had stood up one after another for their beating, one of the policemen first went with them, next over their heads, and once towards the ground. Inspector Khan professed a revolver and threatened to kill, and it is also stated that a sword was drawn.

It was then that Sh. Jaiaramdas, having heard of the trouble, came hurrying to the scene from Shapur. He was at once severely beaten by the police, but he succeeded in telling the parents to come off round a

single way across the fields. Some 100 men and 40 women did this, and succeeded in reaching the camp. The rest, many of whom had received blows, went off to their respective villages, taking and carrying with them the necessary letters.

Those who reached the camp were given a verbal order by the Shapuris, as it was now too late in the day for a march on the salt lake, and leaving the salt with them, the parents sat off for their homes.

One of the parents the military police with Mr. Harish, Mr. Kish and other officials, appeared in the camp in order to say. They tried to persuade the parents, who sat off across the fields, but their cries got stuck in the salt and they passed. The police then stepped from the camp and closed the parents. But they only succeeded in catching 10. When they beat severely and brought back to the neighbourhood of the camp. The police then searched the houses of Shapur and fetched out some 15 more parents who had been in the march. These they also beat, and then, taking their papers from their hands, and all the parents together by the whole in groups of two or three, and marched them off to the Inspector's bungalow. This was at about 4 p. m. and they were kept under custody till about 8 p. m., when they were released.

Before being released, two of them were made to give last the names of their families, and two more were made to give their thumb marks against their names on their sheets of paper.

The parents also report the leaving of two Ghadli caps by order of an English official.

But all these efforts at harassing have only led the parents the further, and the more determined for further resistance.

It was yesterday, 15th June, two days after the attack, that I visited the three villages of Kumbha, Jajbhav and Kumbhar, and the Shapuris camp at Shapur.

This is what I gathered in each village. The damaged people I saw with my own eyes, as the doctor had come in the car with us from Viramgam for dressing the wounds.

Kumbha

About 150 men and 30 women went to the march. About 60 were beaten while in line.

The names, which I saw, were as follows:

1. Wajbhav, and an head, from which the last mark blood, there on back and hand. (She does not know how she reached the salt on the head, as she had fallen before she got it.)

2. Ghadli, about 15 years old, badly beaten on the back.

1 Old man of 75 years, partly maimed on right arm hand, and left arm. (He was a very thin and shrunken old man, but quite hardened.)

4 Old man of 65, had open wound on left side of head on front, and his swelling on left side of head. (The long striped wound had deep 3 like tubes on it or materials, and when I asked why that was, they said it was because the police had used military search sticks, which had barbs on them.)

5 Man of 65, about 15 kilos with stick, and throat was difficult.

6 Man, open wound on shoulder three holes three

7 Man cut on right hand with bayonet.

Myanmar

About 100 men and 40 women were on the march. (about 1000 men and 1000 women. 17 women.)

The men which I saw were as follows:

1 Woman, blow on left ear left cheek, and cut on left ear left hand. (The woman, and those who had been with her, said they were being chased by soldiers.)

2 Woman, badly beaten with falling barbed, left arm and head.

3 Man of 25 years (the village doctor), beaten 12 times on right shoulder, left wound on head from which he had lost a great deal of blood.

4 Man, open wound on right leg and blow on right shoulder and head.

5 Man, blow all up his face legs, which were badly swollen, and blow on back.

6 Man, badly hit on left leg and blow on left shoulder.

7 Man, badly hit on right side (very swollen and swollen) both arms and both legs badly swollen. (very hot and hot but heching and unfrozen.)

Kambhian

About 60 men and 10 women were on the march. The men, which I saw, were as follows:

1. Woman, had blow and above the knee, and another on forehead with knife.

2 Woman (quite young), left blow on right arm, right and swollen on upper part of right hand (wound by policeman's fist.)

3 Woman, left blow on left leg and right arm.

4 Man, kicked on private parts by policeman, blow on right arm and other wound.

5 Man, blow high up on left cheek, another on left arm, and with barbed on back.

6 Man, several blows on back and head but these in places very small.

I have given this account in some detail because I have been deeply struck by the magnitude of the treatment.

In all the villages I saw the same things, maimed and 1. Both men and women seemed that with courage and their eyes gleamed with the joy of their newly discovered strength. What a wonderful reward to the depressed, weary peasants of the past!

And the women! They struck me more than anything else. They have been maimed, and now women are maimed they know no fear. These simple women of the village simply laughed away their wounds.

The Government may know. For it will mean that first something, the more women that I had seen maimed by the soldiers in the Red

Blow

Guerrilla, Cambodian

The following is a statement collected by the two medical practitioners who maimed and treated the volunteers maimed during the first week on December 19th from 19th May to the 1st of June 1980, at the Vinh David Hospital and the Bichar Sangreng Hospital. The information of the police concerned the various kinds of injuries inflicted on guerrilla volunteers.

"The volunteers who were maimed, were maimed by the police. One was maimed with a knife. During the second week of maiming commenced from 20th May 1980, in addition to those of the 19th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and the 16th of June 1980, in addition to the maiming employed in the previous week new kinds of attack were employed, such as:

1. Blowing of bones on the bodies of volunteers.

2. Spinning the maiming.

3. Striking back blows on the chest and the abdomen.

"Out of about 707 volunteers and out of my maiming during these days, about 400 of the maimed volunteers had to be treated at the Bichar Sangreng Hospital. The new kinds of maiming of the different types of the maiming recorded:

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Medical maiming

"In addition to the above maiming we had to tell that there was a case of maiming of blow, since that there was a case of maiming, there were a few who could not give us the blow. There 24 times because they got blow on the abdomen, so some it was very difficult to know the blow on the chest.

"Almost all who got maiming had temperatures ranging from 100 to 102 degrees. There were some who were unable to speak though they were badly maimed.

"It is especially to record here that on the last day when got maimed maiming. Nearly maiming of the maiming was maiming maiming were hit off without having to hit blow on the chest and blow all over the body.

The Story of Bardsal

Descriptive history of the Bardsal Sangreng, by Bardsal Sangreng (p. 176, Dava Sangreng, printed in 1890, 100 pages, 100 pages, with notes, glossary, five illustrations and a map of Bardsal Sangreng. From the 1-2-3 plus to 1 for packing and postage. For 1000000000, 1-2 to 1-2 1000000000.

Copy can also be had in Bardsal from our branch office at Pindar Sangreng.

For more terms see page 10.

Wang, Young, India

Police Treatment in Ranchhosen (Contd.)

The District Civil Disobedience Committee made the following:

"The following is summarized from the statement of Sri Prashant Singh, an inhabitant of village Ranchhosen in the Sub-division of Gurga (Dist. Hissar):

"On the 14th of April last a police officer with two constables and two chakdars of No. 12 Thana came to Ranchhosen to serve a notice of attachment to a special constable to Sri Harman Singh, a respectable and well-to-do gentleman of the village. There was a story as they could not meet Harman Singh the next day a constable came and went away owing to the same reason. Two days later a police officer with two constables came with a warrant against Harman Singh, and showed it to his brother Prashant Singh who informed them of his brother's Ranchhosen address. Prashant Singh welcomed everyone to the office 'Gentlemen of our police have to work as special constables'. The officer replied 'These words are no use as you are addressing them in a tone.' Prashant Singh was also advised to see the special constable Khari Chakdar Guler, on the evening of 17th April, when Prashant Singh did along with Sri Harman Singh. Khari Chakdar Guler's wife is a neighbour of Prashant Singh, he introduced him to the special constable who asked Prashant Singh to submit an application in law. When asked what should be the substance of the application, the special constable replied that he would discuss the matter and send him word by the police officer. The Inspector of Police was also present. No case was sent to Prashant Singh for three or four days and finally at dusk on the 21st April a police officer with two constables appeared with a warrant on Harman Singh at Prashant Singh's place who was absent from home.

"On the way the police met a village head Mohi and asked him the way to Prashant Singh's place, he replied that he did not know it, whereupon he was abused and whipped by the officer. Sri Prashant Singh of Dabalgan was asked the question he refused to reply, was dragged to the office by his collar and abused and whipped. Sri Kaur Singh of Ranchhosen was met at Mohanpura and asked the same question. As he was hesitating to reply the officer threatened to beat him, and came to Prashant Singh's house following him. Prashant Singh was absent from home. The police searching of Harman Singh's house came to the house of the village chakdars who was not present. The constable pulled off the door, and returned to Prashant Singh with the officer.

"A day later after midnight a police officer with two constables appeared at Prashant Singh's place, it was a market day and the heads of the household were away from home, only the women being present. These constables were kept standing at the back door the women were not allowed to enter the house, the police officer with a constable entered the same door. The ladies of the house asked them what they wanted as the same court of the house. The police officer replied that they were in search of Harman Singh and required

where his things were. The ladies sometimes noticed at his house there that the 14th of his wife then Harman Singh had been living not at his family place. The police demanded the key of the door on the door. The ladies refused to do so saying, The police officer then dragged the two women at the entrance. He said that they would be confined in the custody of Ranchhosen Mohi. The ladies went in and their own brought the neighbours to their house. The constable did not go to the gateway and the ladies of the house at the entrance of the police officer. At the sight of fire, and the cry of 'fire, fire, fire' the neighbours, who had been standing outside, and the constable entered the house went in spite of the 100th badge of the police, but that Prashant Singh reached the house and took it back to accompanying the fire, helped by his neighbours. The police stopped away doing the disturbance.

"When the fire had been brought under control and was all but extinguished Prashant Singh took to Gurga and informed Gurga pleader and other gentlemen, such as Khari Singh, Arjun Singh, Sri Mani Singh, Rajender, Raju Singh, Gauri, Mohi Singh and others happened.

"That night at about 11 p.m. 4 S.F. Ramnath, and the police representative with 5 or 6 officers and a hundred constables appeared again at Prashant Singh's place where his neighbours were sleeping at his house after the disturbance of accompanying the fire. On the way the police started from their shop Sri Kaur Singh, Narayan Prasad Singh, and Guler Chakdar Singh of Mohanpura and Sri Narayan Prasad of Dabalgan, and brought them to Prashant Singh's place beating them all the way. That night Prashant Singh and the ladies of his family who had by the back door and took shelter in a relative's place a mile off.

"The police broke open the door and entered the main court, broke locks on doors, searched premises and then got into rooms. From that day till the 21st April, all persons have been afraid near Prashant Singh's house, day and night. At about 10th April Prashant Singh returned his own house accompanied by Rajender Singh of Mohanpura. Mohan Singh Singh left possession of the house. Two constables in which were armed the house search and other houses and shops were being searched inside districts were the papers of the Ranchhosen Mohi Singh, in note and stamps, and the note deposits there were among Prashant Singh had a few days of good luck, but has been missing. More 10 to 15 marks of panchan and potatoes, a diamond and a half of ring have been taken away from Prashant Singh's house. Good occasion and the case have been taken away, and the account given has been all but robbed of all items.

Self-Respect and Self-Reliance

The fourth edition is now ready. In this edition there have been added two more articles and the paper is of better quality. Price Rs. 1. Packing and postage in Rs.

Copies can also be had from our District Office at Feroz Street, Bombay.

Manager, Young India

Young India

A Subtle Game

(By JAMESON DOUGLAS)

The Working Committee of the Congress has done the right thing in strengthening the country on the shoulders of strict non-violence despite the greater convenience offered by the success of the Government. The action on which could have forced the last few months' crop of official harassment with less outbreak of violence than India has. The Government has not only failed systematically to create sympathy of the people but it has also tried to turn its past into violence. It is now not to supply the appearance in the name of other forces which, more large, may lead to tyrannical dictatorship. It is having that there is need for violence all over the country is early not for national politicians with the greatest responsibilities.

There is no bigger sign on the Indian horizon than the rapidly increasing solidarity of the Indian community with the present movement for freedom. The Muslims of the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bombay city have made a great contribution to the national campaign. That has been especially recognised by the Working Committee. The work done in these provinces is an example to the Muslims all over the country. The community is gathering up new leaders everywhere whose reformer traditions should be an acceptable even to the Hindus. They have learned with every consideration of unbroken past or loss and plunged in the great life for which they without first meeting on a cold so poor. The past that will be equal and united with the blood of Hindu and Muslim people who are leaving the facts and the Indian people to decide in every part of India will be the same attitude that ultimately will be justice in democracy when freedom is achieved.

But despite this view, it is well that the Working Committee has made its legislative declaration on the subject of non-violence unambiguous. The Lahore Congress had turned the Muslims and other minorities that an outbreak of the commoner would be acceptable as it makes a good complete contribution to the party concerned. The Working Committee has even more explicitly confirmed this statement. To those more or less Hindu communities who fight and explain, this definite and unqualified pledge might as well be a way out of their position of underestimation. It is obvious that the hostile attitude of any one strong minority community as the first Indian Hindu organisations can not as a success but in the wrong of full freedom. This has also should make the campaign that the future of their community is in its own hands. Let us at the stage—in the Hindu, Muslim or Sikh—first was the right to demand and secure the nation's unconditional claims. We shall be playing the game of the bureaucracy if we let these grow into domination and not a dictatorship.

There are already whispers in the air that interested parties wish to see by communal strife. A few very good of Hindu Muslim leaders have returned recently.

We are not prepared straight off to accept the correctness of the success of those sections which have appeared in the past. We have by now not accustomed to mistaking and exaggerated reports of events being transformed for the purpose of propaganda against the national movement. But observe the true India, these other impressions are a warning to our leaders. Mistaken is about. It must be applied in the best. Dacca, Lahore and Kohat—these sections in its whole way the national parties with the need to know. The Congress leaders must agree early. The greatest pleasure must be shown by these towards all sections of the nation while united action is quickly to the Congress which is, by our influence and conviction of success must be closely with the support of all communities which, in part, are not keeping silent from the government. The Muslims must have perfectly with each other to their religious traditions so they may see in the standard of any section of the Muslim community. We are convinced that the heart of the Muslim masses is thoroughly united. Let to themselves they would be in the forefront of the nation's battle. Even so it is they have taken the lead in steps that are part of India. Let us not misjudge them even where they appear to oppose the present campaign. They are being misjudged. The state of things cannot last long if those who are participating in the Subcontinent movement know and set up in its principles. There is no other way of meeting our opponents except by tolerance, patience and love. Let us harness these qualities while working on our work to meet popularised by Muslims and other communities who are not yet wholly with our movement. If we do this, the subtle attempts of interested parties to stimulate intercommunal divisions will be successfully defeated.

Notes

Law or no Law

One is getting thoroughly accustomed to the Chinese word relating to one law. None need, therefore, be surprised or in attempt to claim the provision of the Press Act to prevent the issue of unqualified beliefs which have taken the place of newspapers in many places. First beliefs are in so many "printed" periodicals. If unqualified is irrelevant, in law, in practice, every duplicating machine working in this country is a printing press. Under the Press Act one can work it without filing a declaration as to license. Such machines are mentioned by hundreds of offices in India, by the railway and by other departments of Government. Each of these makes daily numerous documents "printed" by duplication or typewriter. Under the strict interpretation of the Press Act, all these are considered duly licensed by the government of the Act. And yet the Government has proceeded upon it them for violating the law. The new interpretation is only reserved for those associated with the Subcontinent movement. The fact is that as at present most the Government is itself in doing a much and fast through on one law while pretending to do everything in the name of the law. It does not realize that by such action it is providing for the Subcontinent law forms of will destruction. We had seen that Congress organisations will take the best advantage of all these amongst representatives

for maintaining and strengthening the movement of self government.

A. D.

New-strings for officials

We are informed that in some parts the Government proposes 'Welfare League' to control the progress of local administration. All Government officials who are called to become members, an Deputy Assistant Collector of Mandla-Bhopal was asked to join although he was against this disbandment. He has getting such an impression as the League would definitely abolish any influence he may have with the people. The District Magistrate recalled the Assistant Collector that he was not expected to proceed with the same, pending (in his view) as he would no longer work as an Assistant Collector. Can any self-respecting person serve a Government, under such conditions? It is fitting of the most outrageous form. All self-respecting men should leave this League immediately and breathe the free air.

Cock and Bull Stories

We have repeatedly pointed out in these columns the absolute ignorance of facts shown by the Director of Information. He has even had the audacity to deny the charges made by Mirza, Durrani, Nizamani, Thakkar and Tyabji. The word of these men will not be questioned anywhere in India but of course owing to the myth that 'White men can tell us lies' this statement may not be made on Indian articles. We have also mentioned that our ideas of human treatment and strategy are very different from what the Director want to understand by it. The Director says that Mirza was caught in a 'modern' aspect of India house. We do not know the exact significance of 'modern' in the vocabulary of the Director, but we do know that two healthy beds have lost their firmness because of extreme weakness from such 'modern' buildings.

J. C. K.

Almuda gives Fight

Almuda, a District which for years, living in its luxury and material change, has been away from the British and especially the army, has not lagged behind in the national struggle. This has recently changed the former weapon in the following summary of a private letter from there will show.

"On 10th May the Municipal Board of Almuda passed a resolution to hold the national day in the municipal office.

"The building in which the Municipality is located belongs to the Government. The Municipality was asked by the authorities not to get up the national flag. The Municipal Board refused to do the contrary. But the people of the town were not to be have hence and they took the flag in procession to the Municipal office. After the procession under the leadership of Ibrahim Jaisi reached and the gate of the building, the volunteers declared the programme to be an national assembly and elected S. I. as dignitary. Most of the crowd dispersed. But a few volunteers with Iqbal, Mahan Jaisi and Shaukat remained firm. Thereafter the Deputy Commissioner, who came to the scene, ordered the Gardien to charge them with baton. There were some 40 to 50 Gardien and S. I. to 12 police men.

volunt. The volunteers as well as the leaders were attacked brutally. Sgt. Khattail appears to have a 45 broken, he is unable to move his left side and pleasure is suspended. Sgt. Jaisi has got three in a row of the bones crushed.

It is too to think of the terrible place showing its independence spirit in this history. The local leaders most seriously hurt are personal friends, and it does not's heart good to know of their hero's suffering for the cause.

Mira.

Police run amuck

The Secretariat, Mirza Sahaydar Sahas, Calcutta, sends us the following report:

"The evening session on the morning of the 10th June last—at Calcutta, when altogether 11 men were taken away along with all books, papers, flags, photographs, addresses, etc., were followed up the afternoon by demonstrations outside the chaplains and presence of the Secretariat area.

"The Mir Sahaydar Sahas were gathering at round the bazaar clock shop, particularly those of the Green Street and Park Gate. The crowd had dispersed Congress organisations, and Congress volunteers could not be sent to the day. At about 4 p. m., however, the police stopped all traffic at corner end of the Green Street. The S. I. in charge of the force then took it into his head to go to the nearest pharmacy with his baton. This went up the street from till the end of the street took a wrong turn on the S. I., assumed a local border of the market. The man to move himself from the show window held of the baton, when the police force fell on him and the S. I. had the opportunity to strike first one of the baton. As a result the victim dropped unconscious on a path of blood with his head fractured, and the woman Sahaydar Sahas burst down to save him and along to him but not before the S. I. had dealt two more blows to the unconscious man. The people of the locality, particularly the volunteers who had witnessed one of their own brothers hit down, were by the time gathered, and the woman Sahaydar Sahas did by her up and down the street to keep them off from violence. The S. I., however, accused as the man and wife both heads of consultation entered the Park Gate and went to assembling chaplains and presence unfortunately. High tension prevailed, things began to close down, and the woman Sahaydar Sahas tried hard extending the people there to better themselves as well as saving them from police violence. Through the half-hour there and shortly after the close the police began to beat the chaplains. Mirza Durrani, President of the Mir Sahaydar Sahas (owner of the late Durrani), had a dark blow on her right shoulder from the same S. I., while she was standing on the doorway of a shop, one of the Secretaries of the Sahas was pushed, and many people, mostly chaplains, remained unconscious. The people were, however, saved by the man, and a noisy situation was created in the middle of the Sahaydar Sahas, by the quick closing of all shops in the area. Furthermore, at 5-30 p. m. the Secretariat were a demand made when Sahaydar Sahas and a Deputy Commissioner of Police with a large reinforcement arrived 'in long pace'.

Police Exercises in Bihar

[Last week we gave a short note of the happenings at Mithra. We have now received a fuller report. The statement of Rajendrakumar Sharma, a friend of both the leadership of the police, the one of persons speak faithfully as he was himself one of the victims.] (J. K.)

"Mithra is a place about ten miles from Bhagalpur. It is the head quarters of a thana and has a small bazaar. The Congress Committee has a small house on road and in the house composed, there is another such house which was occupied by the District Depot of the Charitra Bangla. Sometimes we call this house and Bala Bahadur Prasad, an M. L. C., the then President of the District Congress Committee, Syed Sahab Hussain Hachand and Sh. Mohanlal Shrivast, M. L. C., were arrested. All was considered for some days but later on, the attention of the authorities was directed to gathering liquor and gunpowder shops in the bazaar. There was no disturbance of Salt Law policy as on the 1st of May last, when the District Magistrate, Mr. Talwar with Mr. S. P., an A. S. P. and a large number of armed and ordinary police reached Mithra. On the 1st of June in the afternoon, one of the European officers accompanied by some constables went to the grove, liquor shops which are situated close to each other and asked the retailers who were packing, to go away. On their refusal they were beaten. The national flag was forcibly taken away and burnt. There were only three retailers packing there, but there were about half a dozen more in the Congress office, which is about 100 yards away. The retailers saw the flag burning. They rushed to save it, but they were beaten again. They made several attempts, and succeeded ultimately in smothering some cases of the same. After this was over the police turned their attention to the Congress office and the Khadi Depot. They surrounded them and asked the retailers immediately to vacate it. The latter were driven out by force. The members of the Charitra Bangla were also told to vacate their house but all their protest that they had stock of clothes, yarn, cotton and Khadi which could not physically be removed, within the time allowed and that the Charitra Bangla staff was not concerned directly with the Congress activities were not heeded and they were brutally forced out. The loot was broken and clothes, yarn, cotton and a cash box and some Khadi pieces together with the personal belongings of the members were thrown into ditches. They are still probably lying there except the cash box which was of the retailers recovered. The whole thana composed and the two houses stands in the occupation of the police since the 1st, and all approaches to them are strictly prohibited. The next day, that is the 2nd June, the system decided to send a police of five constables to strange to take possession of the houses from which they had been forcibly ejected. Accordingly they sent a police in the afternoon with instructions that they should proceed only if they were arrested or disabled. When the police went out on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th the members of the police were immediately beaten till some of them became senseless. The district report describing the manner as that persons mayhem upon persons against. The news of the beating having spread large numbers of villagers surrounding sometimes ten or twelve charged

or more began to assemble in the afternoon to see the police being beaten. On the 5th there was a big meeting in a mango orchard about two or three hundred yards from the Congress office which is now in the possession of the police situated by about 15 to 20 thousand people. The police under the command of a European officer arrived at the meeting with a small detachment of a very large number of these assembled. About a hundred of them who were more or less completely unarmed were group led by the Congress leaders. On the 5th the volunteers who went in earlier were not beaten but they were forced back and beat and hit being on the ground while the police under a European police officer attacked the crowd and beat them unmercifully. The Congress has now got a small house in the bazaar which is about two or three hundred yards from the old office. This is also kept under guard by the police at the walls of the thana. People wearing Khadi are not allowed to enter the bazaar or to go along the police District Road road which passes between the bazaar and the old Congress house. On one of these days the police rushed to the new Congress house as also in the doorway of a doctor adjoining it who has been rendering medical aid to the injured persons and broke some of his medicine glass.

"What I have noted so far is based upon information from those people who were eye witnesses or have themselves suffered at one stage or another at the hands of the police. First Akhbar Khan, Bala Bahadur Sahay, Advocate, Karamchand of the Legislative Council and Bala Wand Mahendral Prasad, Editor of the Samacharika, and I appeared at Bhagalpur on 1st June on Sunday the 6th. We learnt that on account of Mohanlal there would be no police and so on that day. We stayed at Bhagalpur, saw the large number of wounded people who had been brought for better treatment to Bhagalpur. On the 6th one of us who had come from Patna to the Bala Aswat Prasad, M. L. C., Bala Karamchand Sahay, M. L. C., Mr. Talwar A. R. I. who was at one time a member of the Legislative Assembly, Bala Gopendrak Mahendrak, President of Bhagalpur District Congress Committee, with a number of other friends, went to Mithra. We arrived there at noon and saw that the road just outside the thana was guarded by the police and as one evening Khadi was allowed to pass by the police and then in the new Congress camp. Mr. A. R. I. saw the Superintendent and the police picked were removed from the road leading to the new Congress office, we went and saw the Congress office and Bala Anandprasad, M. L. C., and Bala Karamchand Sahay, M. L. C., who are also members of the District Board wanted to go along the police road to the Dist. Bhagalpur, but were not permitted by the police to go. Later on we had a big meeting in an orchard where on a previous day the people assembled at a meeting number had been arrested and beaten unmercifully. There was no interference by the police, with the meeting on Monday and was addressed by Mr. A. R. I. That day and myself. At 3 p. m. the meeting dispersed and as it was time for the police to go to the Department Congress house large number of people proceeded to see how they were treated by the police. We also came, took different positions from where we could see what was to happen. The

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Beigewordene mit Texten

The following is from the report of the Transit and Motorcade Officer:

"On the two batches of volunteers sent to Tientsin under the supervision of Sgt. K. H. Johnson of Tientsin and T. T. Koppelman, both of Moscow and who were assigned on the Pch staff, 17 were recruited on 5 months' agreement and have been taken to the Tientsin Military Central Jail, M. H. Hutchinson of Moscow who was also directed along with the 17 on the Pch although he was at that time of course through a private officer, the sergeant finally thought it to require a line of Rs. 200 as has not differed from saying that he would make the line complete. This is a most useful procedure over what of a response." The volunteers while in police custody were not from the nearest around them the voluntary local collection by the police in all the 5 were collected by the volunteers, but of which Rs. 2 has been spent previously by the police to find them. The next batch of the balance of Rs. 1 on the way left. The same procedure has been followed even in Yehowah where the money brought by Sgt. G. H. Hutchinson was taken for the collection of the police.

A Day of Prayer

(By J. C. Kanasawala)

The National Christian Council of India, Mumbai had prayed last night and a suggestion that Sunday lunch should be observed as a day of prayer for India. This gladly fulfils this suggestion. Although every movement of our life should be spent in prayer, such a special corner as the one suggested here is given place both in public worship and in spiritual experience. Especially so for people who feel this struggle as a religious one—an effort to be free of our neighbour's sin, the place of which hypocritical greed is the effect of a conscience that is used to prayer constantly to obtain guidance and power, that our prayers are not hypocritical and power is not as false as it has to be granted from above and prayer is our mothers' staff for spiritual home.

On that day let us remember the loved ones of those who have made this suggestion. "Gentle love looks on men thus: this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The "children" is our campaign not our conscience and judgement. They are men with a conscience less for the oppressed and the exploited. They have no self-interest nor do they seek their own glory. In this our campaign differs from all other wars. They have no religiously colored their belief to be blessed with the hope that by so doing they will reach the lands of our oppressors and who there may be the end of love of our neighbor.

God bless and bless our prayers for our much-suffering.

When we pray let us always remember that God is not somewhere in the heavens unknown, we are not seeking Him, we are seeking Him. For God is in our midst. If we do not love our brethren whom we love, how can we love God whom we have not seen?

If we love properly we shall find God in the words of those around us. Today says:

"Leave for shouting and singing and telling of kinds. Open doors open and see thy God every before thee. He is there where the river is rising the land grows, and where the rainwater is breaking stones."

He is with those in the end and in the end, and the present is covered with dust.

Put off thy words, and even the Him come down as the dust of."

Even our necessary friends who have not in this suggestion do not want to make the conception of God in a form to appear material which we have seen, with deeply closed eyes and stiffed hands. The Pharisees have done so before us and we have the denunciation of Christ as hypocrites. It is a mockery to be speaking of God's will, 'They will, 'Jesus Christ' and opening a life of love and pleasure of the Holy spirit while our brethren are being sent to death on the ground and then say "let us pray." We sincerely hope this will be not a poor gesture from our necessary friends—in the words of the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*—"to make their conscience for looking the other way, when violence is used against those who preach and practice non-violence." With our actions we have to worship God. By their truth you shall know them. If we do not offend by the words of our brethren we shall have the Lord not on that day of judgment. I was broken with feeling as I came and to share my friends, I felt down again.

When and for parents as well as children, I was deeply moved and was intensely thankful but you could not see me in a moment, I was deeply into either and and you came and the all our sin, I was there a moment there and you came and to rescue me and I was never less sorry. "Lord, when shall we then be such that we shall not do not remember who they?" He will reply, "I only, I say that you remember as you did it not in one of the best of them, you did it not to me. Depart from me for members of my people."

Let us, therefore, keep before us the pressing words of the suffering masses and pray to God to be as at the last moments. God has no hands and feet but every end to let us dedicate our bodies as living sacrifices to be used to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and to minister to the needs of all our brethren in distress.

The Spinning Army

Today the civil disobedience army is spinning thousands of volunteers, men and women, and all ages are joined in the activities. But who by side with this army there is no visible army growing up the Indian Army, which stands as volunteers and by thousands but by tens and hundreds of thousands.

Already all the armed soldiers of India through out the country have given themselves to the civil disobedience movement, and have thus been sent to jail—in this vast and daily increasing camp of our country is almost without officers. This work is not just in the civil disobedience army is for ever growing up our leaders and organizers have stepped in ranks, to meet the needs of the army, in every place, prison, from amongst themselves, leaders and organizers, of the spirit.

We are carried in various preparations for spinning all over the country, and huge quantities of yarn, good, bad and middling are being produced. But the majority of the newly manufactured spindles are not getting any technical guidance, and where all do not know what to do with their yarn when it is spun.

Two men of Gandhiji's army when he told us all to spin. He did not mean that we should simply draw a thread by twisting a ball or turning a spindle, but he meant that we should also carefully study and preserve our yarn, and that when we had collected a sufficient quantity we should get it woven into cloth.

Now, then, is a real field of action for all Indian lovers and well-wishers of the struggle for freedom. They should meet together in every town and city, and stages from amongst themselves one or two people who become experts, one or two people with knowledge of Khadi technique. It may not be that their technical knowledge will be that of an expert, but a well-kept will be able to help the spinning beginners.

These chosen friends should then proceed to set up communication with the nearest branch of the A. I. S. V., and with their assistance and technical advice weave necessary pieces of fabric.

1 To get our hands with the local weavers and arrange with them to weave hand-spun yarn or proper cloth.

2 To open a depot where the people of the neighbourhood can bring their yarn for getting it woven into cloth, or for selling it.

Cincinnati rail was proposed at London in the June 1934. Dehydration Smelter has been erected at Depon. Eps. Lefebvre: President of India and President of Tray have been erected. To India: Chemical Plants has judged from Government action. Twelve persons have been erected at London for the benefit of the poor.

Panama: Sgt. Raulph Anderson, G-1, was on the morning with Gaudin, was arrested along with William Adams, an American citizen in June 70 when they were being by El Comandante. Their case was taken up then and then they were assigned to three months' suspension imprisonment. The police arrested the second but had gathered three. More cooperation of village officers was forthcoming.

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Sankey—Sen. Margaret, Democratic and Executive Committee of the U. S. P. C., here has reported under Section 103. Her proposals have been accepted by distributing Congress members. In support of the prohibition, which is a large proposition, started on Thursday afternoon from the Congress House to celebrate the Nineteenth Day. The proposition was, however, held up at a number of points, the police having found it difficult to prevent them from passing by. The same proposition being stopped and held up there, large crowds of people formed themselves into processions, and several of the members in carrying the declaration. The police charged with their several propositions that had supported themselves on the ground, and at one place a striped flag was torn away. The three flags changed several in number in about 10 persons. At midnight the police made was withdrawn, and the triumphal procession started in the Congress House where a large gathering was waiting for them. The meeting was continued till 3:30 a. m. Sen. James Smith, Latham and Robinson of the Congress Hall, has been named to pay year's expenses amounting to \$100,000 under Section 103 of the U. S. P. C.

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Karnatak—Meetings were held at 30 places in the districts when propaganda pamphlets were read out. In Mysore about 15,000 leaflets were being later issued. In Mysore district the number of leaflets issued is 50,000. When more was expected to be circulated. About 215 newspapers have been circulated in the country during the current campaign.

Madras-based Sathyanarayana, founder of Dharma, has started an extended day's program and is running the lecture series on the subject. He said:

Moreover, according to the latest statistics of the Ministry of Education, the number of people imprisoned under Article 194 of the Criminal Code, Part 1, Paragraph 1 of the USSR Criminal Code, has been awarded in the USSR in 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627,

Volynskaya Volynskaya, Shchekina, Leningrad, Armenia, with 18 other July Seminars, marched at a procession to prepare manifestos and to Garmy and the other arrested. By Shchekina's plan of Garmy has been arrested. A batch of two judges and 30 was arrested in Garmy, when the former were arrested and released at a village near Garmy. By Shchekina's plan and Garmy, Garmy have been arrested at Shchekina's plan. Two members of Garmy have been arrested and 10 persons, arrested in connection with the arrest of Garmy, have been taken to various towns of approximately 1000 from 5 to 5 months. Four Seminars of 5 Seminars have been arrested in two years' experience. The Seminars have been arrested by Garmy, when they were arrested by the police and a letter change was made by them on the arrest. At Garmy, by Shchekina's plan and others arrested in July Seminars 114, when they were arrested with letters. Three 15 volunteers were arrested and released by Shchekina and four others have been arrested at Shchekina for this. By Shchekina 114. The preliminary order has been photographed in Shchekina's. Printed receipts were being paid out at a meeting in Shchekina, when the police used the book. The Seminars, now at Shchekina, has been arrested by the police. By Volynskaya, Shchekina, M. L. C., and by L. C. Volynskaya of Shchekina, M. L. C., have received their respective orders in the legislature in a printed receipt. The Seminars, now at Shchekina, have requested publication of receipt of the security demands of the 1,000 from the first and the 1,000 from the second. By Shchekina's plan, have been arrested at Volynskaya in a printed receipt, experience and a list of the 15, in which the Seminars' receipt is supplemented. By Shchekina's plan has been arrested at Shchekina for preparing printing of liquid receipts. Two batches of 5 and 5 volunteers have been arrested respectively in two years and six months' experience in Shchekina. At Garmy, by Shchekina's plan, Garmy has been arrested to 5 months' experience, experience, and four others have been given one year's experience. Three Seminars have been, since for one year's experience for setting prices have Seminars' volunteers from Shchekina's plan have been arrested in 10 months' experience has been arrested with two. Eight volunteers of Shchekina have been given three months' experience. Two volunteers of Shchekina have been arrested in two years' experience, and one has been given three months' and three weeks' experience.

Bangkok—The police wanted for Congress and Gulf, police plans, 1960, in this week, and more than 70 persons have been arrested under Section 10 of the I. P. C. by the authorities. Bangkok has been given 15 years' suspension imprisonment by the authorities. The Chief, Deputies of the Bangkok C. D. Committee, has been awarded one year's suspension imprisonment by the authorities. Don has been sentenced to six months' suspension imprisonment. Polong in Cambodia is continuing well, and 15 persons have been sentenced to one month's suspension imprisonment by the authorities with the benefit of the law, which has been reduced to one month's suspension imprisonment.

Sgt. Manojlal Bhattacharyya of Pondicherry has been awarded under Section 105. **Sgt. Rajakumardas Bhattacharya**, Chairman of the Tanjore Local Board, has been sentenced to twelve months' rigorous imprisonment. **Sherman Chatterjee**, a prominent Congress worker of Madras, has been served with a notice under Section 144 and his services as a teacher have been suspended with a warning of Rs. 1,000 has been threatened. In the Congress Bulletin of April Twenty four volunteers, arrested for picketing liquor shops at Coimbatore, have been sentenced to four months' simple imprisonment, twelve others have been given three months' simple, and one has been sentenced to six weeks' simple imprisonment. Picketing of liquor shops has been conducted at Madras by ladies. An organized propaganda for action campaign has been started in Nellore. **Shiba Singh**, Secretary of the United Congress League, has been arrested. 150 arrests have been made at Coimbatore on June 12th.

C P—Sgt. Mathuram Deshpande, a prominent Congress worker of Poona, has been arrested under Section 104. During the week end disturbances about railway passenger stations was reported to at Raich, Gadgaon and other places. At a meeting of the Indian Christians at Nagpur resolutions were passed for setting up a church collection on the first Sunday of July for the Subjagran Hospital at Bombay, to observe a special day of prayer for the country's struggle for freedom, to boycott foreign clothes and to take to spinning.

Bihar—The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee's office at Patna was searched on June 13th. A deputised unit of Congress Volunteers was armed. Section 144 has been promulgated at Patna. **Sgt. Kamaleshwar Sahay** and **Anandram** have been arrested for their work in the Bihar Legislative Council in a protest against the police action at Patna. **Sgt. Yashwantrao Sharma**, **Kamashyamsing** and **Jagdish Bhatia** have been arrested at Gaya when they were engaged in preparing salt. Five volunteers arrested at Daultna, have been sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment. **Sgt. Parmanand** has been arrested at Ghazipur. **Sgt. Shab Mohomed**, a prominent leader of Gaya, has been arrested. **Sgt. Dasa Mishra** and **Mahendrasingh** have been arrested at Beghal and Sonana respectively. One volunteer has been arrested at Daultna. The government at Patna is going to the High Court for writs. **Shankar Das** has been sentenced to one month in connection with reports of foreign cloth and misbehaving shops. Violent picketing is continued at the whole province. **Parsho Vishwanath Datta Dasgupta** and several students of Motilal and Bala High Schools have given up their studies and joined the movement. About 12 volunteers have been arrested in Champna and Bihar district in connection with the picketing. All the districts, including 753, of Bihar have resigned.

U P—Sgt. Ravi Shankar Khatun of B. B. B. has been awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50, in default six months. Two Congress students at Ghazal have been arrested when they were engaged in preparing misbehaving salt. Twelve persons have been sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment for picketing liquor shops. On Sunday last salt was prepared at Banars. Picketing of liquor shops is

continued in the district of Gurgaon, with great results. **Rajesh Prasad** of Saharun has been awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment for leading the Salt Act. **Sgt. Ramnath** and **Devika** of Madras have been awarded seven months' rigorous imprisonment under the Salt Act. The District Committee of the Tanjore District Board passed a resolution asking sympathy for the staff under it to wear Gandhi, preferably Khadi clothes. The District Magistrate has, however, vetoed them the proposal. The delay of Section 144 at Ludhiana goes on with unabated vigour. On June 12th six volunteers with one spectator have been arrested and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. On the day following six volunteers, including prominent relatives of Gadh, have been arrested with eleven spectators and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment each. On June 12th a batch of six Indian volunteers and five spectators have been arrested. Several arrests have been made and for many Gandhi caps. Picketing of liquor shops has been started since June 12th. Orders under Section 144 have been issued upon **Sgt. Manojlal** and **Shankarprasad Saranwar**, both prominent Congress workers of Rai Bhatia, prohibiting them from doing Congress work. **Sgt. Kallabhadra** of Dabhoi has been awarded the discharging Section 115. **Sgt. Manojramdas** and five others have been arrested at Solapur for leading salt laws. At Marol, the stock of foreign cloth has been seized by the Congress. **Sherman Kamdhenu Agrawal** explained the rules at Ludhiana on Friday. She was arrested with her batch.

Ajmer—Sgt. Kameshwar Chaudhary, editor of Young Revolution, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment. **Parsho Arjunachandrasingh Sharma**, arrested at Bharat, has been sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 117 of the L. E. C. **Sgt. Bhikshuram** has been arrested under Section 105 of the Cr. P. C.

Dahad—A notice has been served upon the **Janak Bhai Press** to deposit a security of Rs. 2,000 under the Press Act. The Press has now deposited same. In spite of the prohibitory order under Section 144, a procession was organized in honour of the national volunteers on June 10th. The **Narpatra Bhai Sahib** held a public meeting and passed planks from the people regarding Gandhi and temperance. The **Janak-ul-Umm** has formed a War Council at Dahad and Madras are getting themselves enrolled as volunteers. Picketing of liquor shops, of foreign cloth shops and of stores will be the immediate objective of these volunteers. **Sgt. C. K. Nair**, one of the plotters in Gandhi's famous march to Dandi, has been arrested along with seven others at Nanded village, near Dandi under Section 108. A warrant has been issued against **Mahadeo Atmakshi Bhat** (Bhatia), and the **Janak-ul-Umm** was raided by the police on June 12th.

Punjab—Stories of the Punjab Subjagran Committee show that more than 510 persons have been arrested in the province since the commencement of the campaign of independence. **Sgt. A. C. Sah** of Lahore and **Manji Tansarha** of Amritsar have been awarded one year's rigorous imprisonment. **Parsho Jagannath** of Jalandhar and **Sgt. Harman Chohan** of Nabha have been jailed for one year's simple imprisonment.

General is either kept in complete ignorance of the actual happenings in the country or is intentionally misled.

Now therefore this Committee calls upon the country to meet the situation thus created, by publicly displaying the above Ordinance, adorned with notes and reflecting images, and about characters in the violence under the gravest provocation to its authors, and cause the leaders of all the ramifications of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee regardless of the past Delinquency.

In particular the Committee desires the people to carry on with undisturbed regard the peaceful protesting of Hindus and Muslims, while shops, hotels, houses of Government officers, houses to have participated in supportable violence on September 1st and others had to attend the campaign for non-payment of land tax in parts of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu where it has not yet been started, and also to actively and co-ordinated the campaign of non-payment of Chutukut tax in Madras, and start it in Bihar and Orissa.

3. Dharmasa, Wadala, Conal and Tamlak Association

The Committee has read with horror the blood curdling account of the barbarous atrocities committed on peaceful Satyagrahis at Dharmasa. The Committee notes that these atrocities included, among others, beating Satyagrahis miserably with lathis until they dropped down unconscious and thereafter making them to be dragged by horses, driven by Congress officers, dragging Satyagrahis naked and burning them with their private parts, dragging lathis down into the body of a young lad and striking heavy blows on the wrist.

The Committee is shocked that the previous statement at Wadala, Conal and Tamlak were with single differences, at least one was with death performed at Dharmasa and were equally heinous and summary of any so-called Government.

The Committee holds that both British and Indian officers of the Government are directly responsible for these atrocities and by having permitted or failed to stop them, and wishes the Government that it is only during the late stage of the work of the people whose delinquency cannot be excused by the unexcused facts of violence.

The Committee desires to the Satyagrahis at Dharmasa, Wadala, Conal and Tamlak are heartily sympathy with their callings and on high admiration for their self sacrifice and noble determination.

4. Larkhow Association

Whereas a statement of the members of the City Muz in the city of Larkhow issued by a Committee of prominent Congress with M. S. M. Haidin, M. B. K. M. L. C. as Chairman, declares the following facts:

1. That "persons had and factories were caused in the Satyagrahis who according to all current information had no any reason the police and were merely because while working or long on the ground."

2. That "the force employed was not of the kind that should be used by Government such a crowd had

in attacking a foreign for with a view to destroy or physically strip the enemy."

3. That such use of force "was and directed to the provocations of the crowd about three hundred and also as members of the civil population who consciously happened to be present in the vicinity."

4. That attacks were committed on "persons, who were in the shipping houses, in apartments and their private homes and children."

And whereas the above facts have been fully corroborated in a personal investigation on the spot by the Acting President of the A. I. C. C. and by Purshottam Das, a member of the Committee.

And whereas in the said personal investigation the following further facts have been ascertained, namely:

1. That among the latter mentioned were Mrs. Indira, a highly respectable lady belonging to a well-known family and Mrs. Mrs. Rao, wife of Dr. Mrs. Rao, a respectable medical practitioner.

2. That these ladies were first struck by a European Imperial Guard named Khan and the beating was continued by the Indian police.

3. That people on the terraces and balconies of their houses were shot at and wounded by the police from the streets on the 20th May.

4. That certain shops were looted by the police.

5. That the Deputy Commissioner, the Representative of Police and other British officers were present on the scene and looked on these brutalities with approval and continuously shouted cheerback to the police.

6. That in the operations of the day nearly ten rounds were distributed to the police for their violence against.

This Committee puts on record on definite and considered opinion that the circumstances of the Government of Larkhow relating to the said statement is wholly inaccurate and misleading and that the case facts are as stated above.

The Committee welcomes the appointment of the Civil Liberties Association Committee of Enquiry and hopes that further light will be thrown on the incidents of the 20th and 21st May by its investigation. It wishes all those who have suffered from or have any knowledge of these incidents to come forward bravely and make their statement before the Committee.

5. Wagon Satyagrahis

The Committee offers its respectful congratulations to all the wagon Satyagrahis who have been arrested, detained or imprisoned in the course of the present Satyagraha campaign, and desires that the national movement has been greatly strengthened by their suffering and self-sacrifice.

In particular the Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the personal services rendered by Shri Ram Narain (a Member, Congress), Kanchhoo Chakraborty, Kanchhoo Chakraborty (Member, A. I. C. C.), Suryamohan, Bhow, Douglas, Kanchhoo (Member, A. I. C. C.) and Anand Anand.

6. Duty of Military and Police Forces

The Committee desires that opportunity to express upon Indians employed in the military and police forces of the Government, that it is to make them duty to stop after Indians to strive for the freedom of the

Training of Professional Cadres

The meeting expressed I spoke of last week was started about three weeks ago by Sri Mathuradas Parashartha, who has recently taken over the management of Khadi in Coimbatore.

Since the very beginning of the Khadi movement, the question of hand weaved clothes has been a difficult one in this province, and more, with the advent of enthusiasm for spinning, which has swept over the country, it has brought the matter to a crisis.

Here, in Ahmednagar itself, thousands of people have taken up spinning and, in the absence of any properly made hand weaved clothes, they have been using badly woven and unsuitable shawls made from cotton waste and carried up to the hand weavers of belting. Both these forms of dress, we city had for spinning.

So we set up this shawl for let every one having it into class of professional cadres. It was found that even in a city like Ahmednagar there were thousands of poor middle-class women who could not go out for labour, but who badly needed some honourable occupation at home. To this class of people we made our appeal. To begin with the poor women were shy, but soon the more respectable ones made a start the thing was caught on, and today it is impossible to find space for all the eager people.

The class started with eight working hours, and after fifteen eighteen days it has developed into twenty eight hours, and it is only want of space and teachers which prevents us from making it double or triple the size.

Attendance for the full course of one month is insisted upon, and a day is of four hours. It comes to 4 p. m. A wage of 2 annas per day is paid from the day of attendance. For each the women's meals at home and sending them to school to their work. The total amount paid during these eighteen days is Rs. 44-0-0. The total value of the work turned out is Rs. 22-0-0. The output of shawls for the last three days has been between eleven and twelve yards per day, the work being made between Rs. 1-0-0 and Rs. 2-0-0. The average has estimated for the full course of a candidate is Rs. 2 besides the value of their own house rent at 20p.

This is indeed a small sum, but it pays for the creation of professional cadres out of the poor women, who, when they have completed their training, will return to their homes, equipped with skill, and supply us with good shawls at reasonable prices.

Mathuradasji, speaking on the topic, expressed advanced it significantly a little later, the number of definite passages in the programme which at very small progress is possible, and the importance of the simple style of progress.

And he has good reasons for this. He said that since nine years ago in Calcutta and since three years ago in Coimbatore he incessantly carried out experiments of the mass type.

Mrs.

To Khadi Organizers

[The following is the copy of a pamphlet I have made out for the use of Khadi workers. Organizers in the various Provinces are invited to translate it and use it for their propaganda.]

MIRAJ

Khadi Notes and Figures

Prepared for National Workers

The Meaning of Khadi

The meaning of Khadi is to put India on an economic sound foundation, which will give her strength for living, by providing the under fed and under employed population with employment, which, not only is not able to their capacity but which also provides one of the two greatest needs of a nation. Man cannot live without food and clothing, and the satisfaction of Khadi gives him the latter, while moderately providing him with money for the former.

Study the following figures

India's Poverty

Average income per day per head	Rs. As. Ps.
U S A	3-0-0
Australia	2-4-0
Great Britain	2-1-4
Canada	1-12-4
India	0-4-0

These are per-capita figures

The Occupations of India

Organized Industries	1 per cent
Administration	2 " "
Transport	2 " "
Trade	6 " "
Agriculture	89 " "

Population

Towns	1 million	24 lakhs
Villages	10 "	68 "

Towns and Villages

Towns	2,000
Villages	2,50,000

So the problem of India is the problem of the villages.

Unemployment

The agricultural population is unemployed for 6 months in the year. In some districts even for 8 months in the year.

Khadi or Swadeshi Mill Cloth

Study of the above figures will have shown us three problems in India: (1) that India is extremely poor, (2) that the vast majority of her people live in the villages and have occupations in their vocations, (3) that this vast rural population suffers from terrible unemployment.

Therefore, to make India economically sound, and hence confident in her national policies, we must give the members of the huge village population work in their own homes.

That is the first reason why Khadi suit every India woman with cotton. In order to work in mills people have got to leave their village homes and go to work in towns. Agriculture cannot do that they need a supplementary industry in their own homes. Khadi can give them this.

The second reason why Khadi, and not mills, can successfully come to the rescue of India is that that Khadi production can be quickly expanded to a vast

Notes

Daily Work

The Educational Inspector of South has issued the following circular letter to all private but not Government schools in the province:

"Sir, I have the honour to request, you will be good enough to supply me with the following information in connection with the present political movement, by return of post without fail:

1. Courses in Hist. On what days, and courses for it
2. Percentage of attendance, and the reasons for it (best list)
3. Part taken by boys (names & positions or ranking positions)
4. Part taken by teachers (names & positions or ranking positions)
5. General, including pleasing etc.

The report on the above lines should be submitted immediately by the time 1 P.M. on 15th May, 1934.

In future the report on the above lines should be submitted on the first day of every month or immediately on the day of final results of examinations. I have the honour Sir."

This is how a transferred department believed to be under popular control in doing the work of the police department and in taking the heads of private educational institutions to task on an unofficial C. I. D. It is obvious that a headmaster who fails to comply with the above orders of the Educational Inspector will run the risk of losing the Government grant and recognition for his school. And yet we expect all self-respecting headmasters will be so robust in the face of such work of appeal as the representatives of the landlords and gentry.

A Welcoming Step

The educational authorities have not been inactive in Chapter too. A Free Press message states that the District Local Board of Bhojpur has taken that it "should close up some of the schools in the villages such as Kua and others which have played a great part in the civil disobedience campaigns." We know that also where lies the sleeping dream of primary schools in one of the centres of rebellion which the Government is adopting against the world movement. The only schools were those which the leaders are hesitant to achieve greater success. Even the children have a place in the present movement. They played their part in the Bhojpur Satyagraha. They can play a larger part in the coming struggle in Chapra. Let the parents of all these people who are intelligently participants in the movement for freedom give willing permission to their children to serve the cause of the moment. There should be a better method of making them good men and good persons—the use of all education.

J. D.

Then We go secretly on

So now it is Sir Michael Burns they have taken.—the Premier and Father of Many Jokes and Banterers

On the night of June 16th, they came to Benches Press and arrested him as Premier of the Chhapra Satyagraha Committee (the local Congress body now dead) for "leading in stirring dissatisfaction amongst the police."

Two days later they arrested him in New Mirat through a messenger.

The question of "dissatisfaction" amongst the police is becoming prominent. The Government seems to be getting angry on the subject. It knows that it cannot satisfactorily describe the police, members of the Police Force and the Army as to being the true interests of India. It knows too, that practically all people have a natural affection for their own life and the real fact that when these men come to realise what work they are really being told to do, there is bound to be some revulsion of feeling on their minds.

The police of India, which up to a short time ago, was successfully being shaped by the Government, has now realised the British Law, and from the Movement's standpoint is bound to be regarded as being a religion against the British Rule.

With such a weakness as that if we go openly and bravely in the help of our brethren in the Police, it cannot be long before they too will realise.

It was said that Michaelburn was arrested for that noble cause.

Miss

Warning to the Hindus

From the Conference on plotting of foreign cloth shops we had a good deal of work in regarding plotting but now thanks to the conference, we are getting reports from various places that the foreign cloth dealers themselves are plotting that many shops of foreign cloth under the veil of the Congress. This voluntary treatment of trade in foreign cloth has almost good many volunteers for other steps in the programme.

Cut's Few Be Longer

The whole world foreign cloth merchants have shown to the world the helplessness of the pressing made by the Viceroy in safeguarding their interests. At Bhojpur they have formed a cloth dealers' association. One of their members obtained a fresh supply of foreign cloth. The pressmaster imposed a duty of Rs. 34 on this merchant. Although the law was not violated the dealer calculates that the profit of the three has amounted more than what he was generally accused of being persecuted by authorities. The police and the police officers are beginning to connect and people's officers in India. A country where such a step is marked is ripe for self-government. A Government which allows to look to the well of the people is bound to break under such conditions.

J. C. K.

The Satyagraha Fund

Receipts received from page 371.

	371-3-4
Mandir Dasgupta	Patna
Indradev Bhagat Das	Almohad
Chandradev Nand Lal	Tikar
A. Ganesha	Almohad
Radhadev Mohan	Almohad
Ramesh Mohan	Patna
H. T. T. Dasgupta	Patna
Sahay	Patna
Satya Das Das	Patna
Chandradev Das	Patna
Kandradev S. Dasgupta	Patna
A. Ganesha	Patna

Total Rs. 3,175-3-4

A Most Sacred Right

(By J. C. KENNEDY)

A nation is like a body. It has several members with varying functions, but they should all work together for the common good. If the members are working one against another the organism ceases to be healthy at all times deep and he rots. It one of the members begins to function in a way which is detrimental to the interests of the others we have to strive hard to cure it and bring that "plank out." The Government is a member of such a body as also the body of corporations—the Police, Post, and the Army. When these entities are obedient to the will of the nation we have others to trust them or not them. This is what Abraham Lincoln had in mind when he said "any people anywhere living without and having the power, have the right to rise up and strike off an existing Government, which they deem unjust and tyrannical, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

We have repeatedly stated that the interests of the Government of India are diametrically opposed to the interests of the people. Even when they pretend with great individuality for the welfare of foreign cloth dealers and joint Gallianian against poisoning such shops, the Indians who should know that even Indians in the community better than the Government have in several places protested against the Gallianian profited considerably for their benefit. Now realizing that the Indian community are dissatisfied of being betrayed their eyes and looking after themselves the Government has shaken off its more duties and more set on its other support along rays and carries on propaganda on behalf of British manufacturers, and business and what it wants, derides the Indian made products and institutions as a way that were the "Dress of India calls for progress". All this is done with Indian tax payer's money. Should not such a Government which betrays the interest of the people be shaken up? Will not revolutionaries continue content when their contributions to the Government services in the form of Income Tax and other incomes are being used in a propaganda to bring their interest? Should they not stop financing such warped propaganda by non-payment of taxes?

When during the last months they begin to exhibit some consciousness and to stand out their own with "my India"—slogan of about four or five feet in length and about an inch and a half in thickness. These men would stand in all street days that come day very. After the first time the day would end down kneeling and bleeding through the eyes and mouth. A few more bits up this protruded, which had to be cut would have caused the few more. This method of displaying of a danger to society was depicted in by human world, workers and the Society for Protection of Country in Animals has always to put down such barbarous ways. Now that these "Ang. Bibles" are out of circulation, our Foreign Government has arrested our Indians to strip the public from with their. Instead of having days our governments propaganda are put down and our law with persons these authorities. If anyone pretends to these misdeeds politicians the law of law is a crime. The Printer of *My India* Sarveswarth Ramachandran also the Publisher of this paper. His

has awarded with a month's suspension imprisonment for such misdeeds with. Another is also doing some missionary work in the district. We believe the time has arrived when we should recognize in a systematic way a Mission for the Protection of Country in Human Being. If we may suggest it the Viceroy may be desired to give it his patronage, and the Missions to business the President, other problems to join to Vice Presidents and the body should broadcast letters to the politicians on Indian methods. Finally with the task of law related with the care of the emperor turn on him and his children him, as it will then to stand or end the system? When it is regarded a crime to punish our nation to these misdeeds bodies, we know that that nation is not functioning properly. Instead of being an "instrument of enlightenment" it has been turned into an instrument of oppression. The weaknesses of these Indians who are turned into instruments should be in the hands of all politicians.

A properly constituted Government should function in such a way as to be instrumental in helping the people to realize the values of their human nature. Freedom should be extended. Love of one's motherland is natural. Our present Government is created even from this point of view. Our patriotic feelings in the army who asked to stand on sacred earth in Persia and make victory and Children are awarded by the present regime, recognize money from Transportation for life insurance. Let the Government remember that the people will stand on the values of these people before any harm can be done and when the time comes when the people of India do realize that feelings freely, a place of human world these people, who in spite of their own discipline and training found a corner in their heart where the human spirit of kindness can grow. It is the duty of all those who feel themselves personal workers to contribute and protect such feelings of patriotism wherever found. If honesty, love, patriotism and non-violence becomes, let us all sincerely pray that the Almighty will make "miracles" of the true magnitude out of us that people in with opportunity to save our freedom and win the approval.

Autobiography

Vol. II

The second and last of the present first volume of the *Story of My Experiments with Truth*, pp. 208. Demy Octavo, bound in cloth, with index and numerous photographs of Gandhi. Price Rs. 1-4-0 plus Rs. 2-11-4 for postage and cartage. The stamps contain 10 s. or 10 s. per box.

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Orders can also be sent from our Branch Office at Vishnu Sahas, Ranchi.

Alfred, Young India

When Angels Are Accused

(By J. C. Kananam)

We are fast getting accustomed to looking for nothing but blame, has launched out from the office of the Director of Information, for we were all prepared to meet with such like propaganda from the unscrupulous offices of the printers of the Christian Church in India. Bangalore hardly was expected to have sufficient opportunity to detach themselves from the evil influences that surround them and then be in a position to guide those who regard England as their home. The chest is full but in looking the corresponding release about a person is a better office against all that is held sacred in human relationship. When dangers and given opportunities it seems, the people of that nation have a right to look up to those who are placed in high offices of the various religions for light and leading and more especially the case of their very followers.

About two months ago the writer of this article approached the Hon. Mr. Dr. Waddell to urge the Government to follow Christian methods in dealing with Subjugated and free thought India on a world-wide programme from the Metropolitan. We were greatly surprised at the attitude of the Bishop and placed the whole material before the public, leaving it to our lips as discussing the right side. Some persons published only partial accounts calculated to give a totally wrong impression. The correspondence was published to advance the editor's own view. This is a great abuse of the prerogative of an editor. Although our way will appear heavily in the wrong form of protection from within the political world today, we may be accused for being taken aback at a religious magazine following this weekly manner. Dr. H. J. Kananam, F. R. C. S., one of the founders of the Christian Science, an Indian Christian leader devoted to the service of the poor and the cause of truth when in a political issue. "I am only the Metropolitan's letter is published in the Indian Christian magazine and not even your first letter. This is their whole and we must be a discipline on the public, and urge that to progress to those who look to these India for guidance we should publish the whole correspondence in our columns. It is translating the correspondence for publication in a local newspaper to which guidance to the people. Other correspondents have also written much in the same strain. Under the circumstances we had called upon to publish in full the correspondence leaving it to the reader to judge for himself on the cases involved."

The Indian Christian magazine is the official organ of the Bishopric of Madras and we imagine that such a person should have desisted to practicing deception on the public. We would remind these Church dignitaries of the Christian attitude towards leadership in the apostolic times as depicted in the members of James and Stephen, how James held back the rebuke that was to be offered Peter was not the whole value of his promises and the idea he was worth dead and then began after the his wife Stephen also appeared before Peter and tried to shake the whole truth and the Peter was struck dead for the effect. The Bishopric of Madras which

has accepted with the Son of Calcutta in method the Christian community should think God that they are spared the apostolic judgment as described. Rightly said, "Kant of Rome there is no one commandment." We were under the impression he was debating from the standard of his own conscience who were before. We have thought that gave a disposition for Bishop to forget the such commandment. St. Paul said "There be some that trouble you and pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we might have human grace we offer gospel with you, let him be damned."

Unfortunately for us the intervention of the Archbishop that have brought to us their respective and selfish standards of living which are also in our country and have appeared as from the past of our leaders and have made a seriously difficult for us to follow the One who had not what to say the Lord. Let us never look to the standard of living advocated by Christ which is living just one person today in the land by Godliness and a few necessary bodies like the Church, Sons, Saints. We do not discuss the necessary bodies as a whole. They perhaps worked only the idea of "working" the National Church. The truth has been discussed in us. We think that for the example of such young men as Dr. J. Kananam's co-workers Dr. W. P. P. who is a Christian of doctrine and a physician by training, who has adopted the better standard of life and is living amongst our villages as one of them. We are not sure if we need assistance for calling him a Christian, for he is one of those who have found of spiritual leaders who have an authority and whose religion is service of humanity. But for a few of such men the world will not be worth living in. The Christian community amongst them may not really win.

Living is a lack of leadership and wrong guidance the Christian community seems to be sitting on the fence in most parts of the country. In Nagpur and Bombay they have just raised the right course and at the later place they are being taken in by a "Congress Christian Party" Although we are much against any national pattern as a religious basis within the pale of the Congress, where we all stand together—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs and Christians—found with you have of some have children of our nation, Mother India, we welcome it only as a step in the right direction getting a lead in the country. We hope when the community is politically advanced enough to discuss living steps that the members will exposed the barriers of communalism and will follow successful national leaders wherever their permission may be.

We would urge our Christian brethren to follow strictly the teachings and example of Jesus Christ and look to Him and His Church for guidance. They have not become by words but Christ should give the final word to all those who profess to follow Him. Is that we find the most extreme opposition of all who deny, and even their carrying. He seemed into death by taking the parents of apostasy and captivations of the day. He definitely leads them which were covered and led us to follow the straight and narrow way indicated to us by the Lord Jesus which

us without loss of consciousness. To say that Christianity is not Christian is tantamount to a denial of the substance of the Gospel story itself. Let us then broaden our horizon, to studies of all that and much forward as a crusade against the ignorance prevalent for three centuries against the right that the past, just upon the waters and into the future.

Copy of the Correspondence An Appeal to all Christian Workers and Ministers

Dear Friends,

We are at present passing through one of the greatest crises in India's long history—a crisis that bids us to turn to work not only as Indians but as human beings. The days when personal differences were fought out by deeds or particularly a thing of the past. Private individuals no longer appeal to brute force. But nations are still resorting to barbarous methods of violence and war to settle international disputes. There has been a war for armaments in spite of repeated efforts of relieving them from the World War. There is an end for us to put out at first to know that nations refuse us to live in the land of peace and mechanical warfare as we men believe that. We need to exert ourselves to see to it that a human hand of war is a spiritual place. Enlightened men the world over have been striving for what William James calls "a moral equivalent for war", as a means of settling national disputes. Before our very eyes Gandhi is endeavouring for nations the goal of love in a practical way. The details may have to be worked out to a greater degree of refinement before Satyagraha can be used as a national scale but the broad principle is the one that counts as reality at this moment.

What is going to be the contribution of those of us who profess to follow the Prince of Peace whose banner is love? At this juncture a great responsibility is laid on our shoulders we dare not shirk. There is an opportunity at our very door the idea of which Christianity has never held before. Do we not hear the Man of Sorrows cry, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth me can be not worthy of me"? The choice is ours.

I am deeply aware that our political views may honestly differ and we may be often apart. Amongst Christians, there are Indians and foreigners and those who are eyes to eyes with the national movement and those who may honestly believe that the Nationalists are right. But there can be no difference of opinion regarding our violence amongst those who were inspired by their Master to turn to "whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to the other also" and to return good for evil.

No appeal is necessary to those who are at full agreement with Gandhi and who are convinced that this movement is to do the right and lead the history in their hands are committed to non-violence.

My appeal is made to those who differ from the national cause. They have a great burden to perform. I know some of the famous missionary friends are here under a contract with the British Government not

to interfere in politics. But when non-violence comes contemplating a principle which they hold fundamental, I believe that they are bound in loyalty to their land to support upon the Government the duty of adopting non-violent methods, even at the risk of their very lives. I am quite conscious that there is a more difficult task than agreeing with the current of the national movement but I am certain that the present task affords a greater opportunity to "let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and clearly your Father which is in heaven".

In today's state of Young India there are still numerous signs of loyalty professed by the police. I give here the following two reports only.

From Delhi:

"The volunteers were arrested at the police head to head from our hands a bucket of milk. Only after they had believed us in their hands' bucket could they desist as at our side . . . Among the arrested few were severely injured. They had been heavily beleaguered on the chest and the abdomen. They received severe injuries on their private parts."

From Dibrugarh.

"Eight to ten policemen fell upon Anandilal. They heavily pressed him backward, which he is with his on the chest and abdomen, pressed their fingers with on his neck, so much so that Anandilal fell senseless. Mr. Fitcher and others quickly restrained the hostility."

After these accounts no more words from me will be needed to recommend to your Christian upon the noble cause of non-violence. As far as the Satyagrahis themselves are concerned they pride in their behaviour and think that for the opportunity of suffering much for what they hold to be a righteous and a moral cause like the early Christian martyrs. But that there still continues the reliance on the Government side. I am confident that as true Christians, be he Indian or foreign, will have a more spiritual as better ways and means of persuading the Government to use humane methods in their attempt to "maintain law and order."

Yours sincerely,
17th April, 1936 Joseph Cornelius Kannekattu

18th April 1936

Most Rev. Dr. P. Westcott,
Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India,
Calcutta

Dear Dr. Westcott,

Yesterday I posted to you a copy of my appeal to Christian and Missionary bodies. I am sending another for ready reference.

It seems a terrible reflection that a Government responsible to a nation that supports the Christian Church as a national institution should prosecute such apostates and especially so non-Christians. This will do irreparable damage to the cause of the Christian Church in India. If the Church does not explain its position and take right early—and urge the Government to at least follow the lead in non-violence given by Gandhi, good service may be rendered even by giving resolutions passed by the various Christian organisations and forwarding copies of them to the Government and to the press.

May I respectfully point out that with Christian non-violence cannot be treated as a matter of policy. It is one of the basic principles enshrined and protected by Christ. If this be so then it is inconsistent with the Church. I cannot, in undertaking to propagate the principle of non-violence, discard and renounce completely by deed to embrace a passionate non-violence having but the object the promotion of non-violent methods of solving disputes! I am addressing Bishop Potter and advise on that subject but in nothing can give that statement a greater impetus than a definite lead from you. I trust this matter will receive your thoughtful consideration and from I am persuaded you will see your way quite clear to undertake this responsibility.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
J. C. Kammappa

Bishop's House, Calcutta
24th April, 1939

My Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 15th inst. and so thank you very much for the note which has known Bishop's House for some years and who deeply appreciated the interest he was rendering for the social uplift of the depressed classes and for racial unity in India. As a social reformer, he had my wholehearted support, for in doing that he seemed to me to be truly following in the footsteps of Jesus Christ but now you ask me to support him when he has, under Jesus Christ, decided himself with the political aspirations of the Nationalists. You well remember the instructions taught Jesus Christ to make Him clear that His might lead them to attack their national independence and secure their freedom from British rule. The He absolutely refused to do regarding it as a temptation of the devil to be resisted.

You seem to expect that our Lord would have approved of civil disobedience and would have called upon Governments when any of their subjects deliberately violated the laws of the country to go on and break chains with impunity. It is hard to understand how you could imagine that that is God's way of entering the world. When I look in upon, I find that what we call 'Violent Law' is absolutely dead and lifeless. On that basis of law depends our power of carrying on our daily work and the research studies depend upon it for making further discoveries. I remember well Father Wagner's reply to a young man in the Albert Hall that, "a letter was equivalent to him as one had said was sometimes as well as better in the same perspective, we could make without a bridge not a bridge!" One can expect that Jesus Christ who came to reveal the character of God would so clearly repudiate the revolution of God given to us nature? We know He did not, for again and again He educated His disciples to obey the law. When the Pharisees wished to place Him in a dilemma, they asked Him whether it was lawful to give tribute to Caesar or not and He asked them to show Him a current coin. They showed him one with Caesar's likeness upon it. His reply was, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." You will yourself of the policy which a civil Government

affects you and of all the services which it provides for your convenience, but think you are at liberty to violate its laws with impunity. So far from receiving my say and discipline in regard to disobedience, our Lord educated His disciples to obey the British and Pharisees. He said, "Whosoever they bid that do not observe. Perhaps I need hardly remind you what St. Paul, a chosen witness of Jesus Christ, wrote to the Romans.

"Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore He that resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall incur to themselves punishment. For rulers are not a terror to the good work but to the evil."

Perhaps you recall our Lord's instruction to the individual which forbids him to resist for a wrong done to him. Our Lord leads him to see over the violence by violence and justice. He was not dealing at the time with the question of the maintenance of law and order in the state, which leads up parallel to the natural order of the physical universe. A great deal of the suffering to the world is due to the violation of what we call the 'laws of nature.' Much of such violence as there is, however, but the quality of that violence as wanted in the present civil disobedience, there is no question of approval. It is dishonourable as regarded to overthrow the Government. I do not wish to discuss either the question of aid law or the moral policy of the Government. That is beside the point. What I am protesting against is that you should think the teaching of example of Jesus Christ given any material for the practice of civil disobedience.

J. C. Kammappa Esq., M.A. for
Shriani Vidyaseth, Alameda

Yours faithfully,
Feroz Colawala

2nd May, 1939

Most Rev. Dr. J. Westcott

Lord Bishop of Calcutta & Metropolitan for India,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir, Westcott,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 24th April received yesterday. May I say how surprised I was to find you reading me a lecture on Civil Disobedience at all. I cannot even understand the words civil disobedience in my letter to you. What I wanted was not that you should support Gandhi in his political campaign but that you should urge Government to use non-violent methods. Surely any Christian on either side can do that even while vehemently condemning the other side. I did not for a moment imagine that was too much to be expected of the head of the Indian Church in India. At present the so-called methods used by the Government towards the Natives are certainly of an opposite like Gandhi, and no gentleman can conscientiously allow them to be who profess to follow Christ. I feel so understood how you could stand aside calmly watching without a word of protest while such tortures and tortures are being used. The attitude of collaboration is tantamount to a denial of our Lord even capable than that of Peter's, and the only hope is that it may be followed by repentance and more ardent service as in the case of the Supper Agatha.

The next paragraph reads: "After Jesus was crucified for the present political situation but only in the application of the principle of non-violence in making all manner of decisions. You have chosen to ignore the principle altogether. Perhaps you do not wish to follow Christ in the spirit of non-violence. You will forgive me if I say that most of our contemporaries and other leaders of the Christian Church seem to be Episcopians and not Christians although I am a Episcopalian. This reminder from during the World War profoundly every night was turned into a scolding sermon, particularly and every Church service ended with the morning service afterwards sang, 'God save the King' which includes the 'Jehoiadab' story of King David. Church's teachings are torn from the context and twisted passages are partially quoted to meet their material needs and the Church committed to these changes are being misled. This is a grave charge which seems to apply even to you as I shall pointed to them presently. I do not know how far they are consciously guilty. They are themselves victims of a discipline based on violence and so are not able to fully appreciate and interpret Christ's own teaching on this subject. May God forgive them for the mischief they are doing, perhaps with the best of intentions, as the last which helps even plant the ground. As an individual, I should have intended to approach the Bishop of the Metropolitan for India, a person among the prelates of the Church, in the Indian had it not been for the outbreak of the New Testament and as the ground I could enter India, for applying this would have otherwise appeared conspicuous in the latter. Since you have pointed toward the question of civil disobedience I have no option but to deal with your arguments.

Emphasis from such an isolated reading for the application of complete non-violence and partial violence appeared to me later to support, of your own ideas, came to a great shock to me. You seem to be the mistake making to make Jesus King and you said "that He might lead them to power. Their national independence and secure their freedom from Roman rule. This He obviously refused to do regarding it as a compromise of the faith to be needed." May I take you to the actual context and passage John VI 14, and II which refers to the disciples of the miracle of feeding of the five thousand men. "Then those gave when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did said: This is of a truth this prophet that should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him and make him a King, he departed again into a mountain himself alone." †

The playlet they were expecting was the Messiah and the common conception was that he would be a temporal king and the context makes it clear that their own were tempted by purely selfish motives—feeding the body. These people wholly misunderstood His message and His Kingdom which was not to be of this world and hence he departed. There is no intention to even come to help all you are about national independence and freedom from Roman rule and much less anything

about Jesus regarding it as a compromise to be needed. There is no idea of a compromise here at all.

Then later as you pointed to my "Our Lord rejected his disciples to obey the Father and Pharisees." He said, "Wherever they had that he had chosen." He often sends you allude to the "wherever" as being the same place as the political order that the Father and Pharisees of old held in the Jewish organization. I am absolutely sure with you in this, but I cannot your partial quotation extended to non-violence Jesus. You said the first part of his quotation and had even to refer to the last part of the chapter, Mark VIII, Verse 1, says: "The Father and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat" and then again the third Verse "All therefore whatsoever they bid that do and observe." That is so far as the Father and Pharisees are the maintainers of Moses' Law, which to the Jew was God made law as we may term a legal moral law. He sends them to obey the law he gave except them to bind themselves as you will had right through the rest of the chapter and of the strongest condemnations of the Father and Pharisees against the place rightly due to the Messiah as God gave law and promising it to add they were selfish men and demanding without reason. Most of the verses in this chapter begin with such leading words as "When were you leaders and Pharisees hypocrites." "When were you, ye blind guides." "Ye fools and blind", and end up with "Ye hypocrites, Ye pretensions of Wyrone," here was Ye suppose that of Jerusalem of old." And Verse Jesus to the synagogue of Galilee. He has again and again rebuked them as "Hypocrites of the Father and Pharisees." He never advocated blind obedience such as what you imply. He refused them to follow the God given Law. In Mark VI, especially you have never hesitating with "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time . . . But I say unto you this," and in verse 13, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Father and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the Kingdom of heaven." Surely if they were to follow words the Father and Pharisees they cannot meet them. He localized the period of a legal moral law and said, "For not those that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. This is enough as far as the present goes, but let us see what the question was. Did He Himself obey the Father and Pharisees least things were when Jesus came and the world? I need only refer you to the last few verses of Mark III where you will find a record of His own condemnation against the Law of the Sabbath when he considered its application irrelevant. After carefully explaining it and the Father and Pharisees He definitely broke it by healing the man with a withered hand. His action in changed the true meaning of "Law and Order" but the Pharisees' compulsory blind obedience with Pharisees against him, says they might destroy him." Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. Wherever the man made law has proved to be incorrect as in the case of the Sabbath, and non-violence, as in the case of the same policy, the religious process will lead to a

disfranchise of the poor. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I come not to send peace but a sword." This is a warning whispered from the Palace of Power. Do we not hear an echo of this that comes to Gandhiji's desire to prevent the Government of India, with a cloud of Indian hands? It is not the physical sword that matters but the fact that a Indian hand suppresses the need to do away with an immoral law. We hear a great deal of criticism on this much misapprehended statement of Gandhi.

You appear to have mystically confused Man's "Law of Nature" and man-made laws, and confuse the same primary and refuse to look after "Law" as Science is but the observed machine, order of sequence and hence the "body" you talk about—will a machine from the machinery as opposed does even this "body" has to be modified. Therefore even in natural law there is evidence that it is "absolutely variable" as you so unscientifically suppose. Man-made laws are only rules laid down for the regulation of society and as no more in evidence—I am not sure what you think of the Pope—some of these regulations may be wisely amended or suspended. Thus what is our duty towards them? The example of Christ urges us to rise to that which is our highest right irrespective of consequences.

You accuse the people of taking advantage of the weakness of the Government. Are there serious efforts going? The only you speak of is an unselfish campaign you were under that impression. Do you not realize even at this late hour that the very Moral as expressed out of the Indian people by way of taxes? Even if I grant, for argument's sake, that the service, we get is desirable as there is an idea of adequacy of payment? I am sure you will be the last one to justify the law was on the score that it called for it, some become occasionally. Surely the price was too heavy to pay. This is one of the basis of construction of the Satyagraha. According to you it would mean that the Government wants that the people might stay it. Man is made for the selfish thing—A more constructive way to look at the relationship—you cannot get any where with such ideas. Instead of Government's leading to the end of the people the Satyagraha says, "We will make them free to accept our machine." The Indian citizen—what if he can be called a citizen and not a slave—made for maintaining a Government and finally the British rule.

The British and the Congress want the law to serve their own ends. Our present day Pharisees are not to be mistaken in this. Take for instance "justice." This should be a no question of persons. Yet Gandhi and Gandhism after Satyagraha are law while the Government picks and chooses whom they may favour. Law is as present the selfish handmaiden of the legislature to carry out its will. Government is not there to maintain "Law and Order" but the law is there to maintain the Government. Is this not an eternal state of affairs?

To summarize the present movement in India, the Satyagrahis had the universal nature of the whole system. But Tax, liquor sales etc. and realizing that at present time it needs to be heard they are leading with first to get General (what question you

"necessarily refuse to discuss the liquor issue. We are leaving the body to science, science goes and solve themselves of "millions and the Pharisees—the lawmakers—were to be given such a hard lesson. Whistler—as to how they may defeat the greatest apostle of Christ as Indians had at first says, "Lord Lord" but one that death the will of the Father, the same that Jesus came to be the lawless, rebel and another. You may not have could I cannot Government of ending to destroy him while he has been left uncondemned I have not even Gandhi then the example started but I know, the Satyagrahis perpetrated as one of the best of the people will be an immeasurably greater service to him than say that he treated people of India that can be educated in. The Satyagrahis follow Christ even in the case of the present day Pharisees who rather than do justice and respect, stick to their guns and carry out the whims of the powers that be. The Satyagrahis take as part of the proceedings was in Christ released." Thus and Peter now has "human face" and have many things they believe against him!" and he answered him again a word as so much that the Governor corrected greatly."

Western civilization brings intolerance even between Christians. I recently I addressed you "Dear Dr. Woodcock and signed myself "Yours sincerely," but you began "My dear Sir" and said "Yours respectfully" but you will allow me to follow Mark, X:11: I said address you "Father" and sign myself,

Yours Faithfully,
J. C. Kammuragun

Cowardly Assault on Prisoners

[If only Satyagrahis realized to how and how had its cause in India many of the Government officials will be converted and a few bands of administration will be guilty of shooting or murder. Even national prisoners are being executed in the Police Thane. We heard a great deal about the danger of Civil Disobedience leading to lawlessness. This propaganda seems to be more than justified as let as the more the Government actions are concerned. The Police seem to be under the impression that a reform of a kind of a license to arrest all and punish wherever they choose to. They take full advantage of the fact that their actions will not be brought to book. So far the behaviour of the Satyagrahis has been exemplary. The Viceroy is still in the initial stage of confusion and he does nothing as he likes, he leads in the name of law supplied by the Government. Such behaviour as this was giving India will have to be opposed not by an independent national and the all-time responsibility that will follow we can have any confidence in the present Government.

J. C. K.]

Senator (Senator) Gough made the following statement about the police assault on Satyagrahis in Lahore, Thane, Calcutta.

"On the 18th June myself and Sir George Davis went to meet some of the Satyagrahis in the hall-way of the Municipal Police Court. There were about 40 or 50 prisoners there of whom a large number have the right of arrest usually by Court. There was a strong

boy of about 15 years who had a very bad cut under his left eye, another with a closed and swollen right eye. A young man had his back full of cuts and lacerations which had bled so much as to render the Tinsol a deep rose pink, another young man had three smaller cuts over his shoulders due to being kicked.

These boys told us that when they were made to come out of the prison, when at the Lefang, Thang they had to march through a column of Gergas who numbered 3 or more rows and were mercilessly beaten by these till they had bled. This treatment was made not to them only because they would not stop the National song *Vande Mataram*.

The Anti-Foreign-Campus Committee reports:

"Four 'B' class prisoners, who were quarantined in Guxin, Kanton, West Szechwan and East Szechwan and confined in the Repatriation Central Jail were taken to be ready to be taken to Yunnan Jail on the evening of 21-6-39. Just as they came out of the jail gates at 12 p.m. the European inspectors, jail wardens and reserve Constables in the presence of the Jailer and District suddenly pointed over the prisoners and began to lacerate them with knives indiscriminately and severely. They also beat them and kicked them all the while shouting them in bad language. The Japs, lacerated and speckled, at some of them were broken. The reserve constables then escorted them to the Railway Station all the while shouting and threatening them. Mr. Subramaniam, Narsimham, Dr. V. Ramaswaram, Dr. R. Srinivas, Sankar and Dr. G. Sargam Chetty of Chennai and Mr. Nalini Vengaloor of Madras were among those severely beaten and kicked and marks of violence may seen on them. Almost every one of the prisoners was imprisoned. The assault was absolutely unprovoked. It is understood, however, that this matter and severely assault was made on the 'B' class prisoners as a reprisal for their having gone on hunger strike to sympathy with 'C' class prisoners on the question of food food."

'The Black Regime at Chingwan'

The General Provincial Congress Committee, Kuanan Southern Hill, Kweichow, has published a detailed account of the atrocities at Chingwan, Page 112, *Part 2* annex. The book contains some of the statements made by the executed prisoners, some unprovoked assaults of respectable specimens who were entirely illegally seized and 12 photographs, all of which make a most horrifying record.

Ready as a few Days

Public Justice and Our Policy, by J. C. Karmacharya, with a short commentary foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. This is a series of articles which have appeared in Young India. A reprint which has been added as also appendices giving the latest available figures and a few other items of interest.

Police Firing at Khira, Madnapur Dist

The President of the Board Council of Civil Disobedience writes:

I give below a verified account of the firing on a non-violent crowd on June 18.

The villages are agricultural with very little industry. There appears to have been a propaganda against the Government that by withdrawing from neighbouring villages and surrounding villages by the police at about Government men. Two days before the firing took place viz. on the 16th June, the S. D. O. with the Chief Officer called the village. Nothing there could police was reached and a crowd gathered. They were asked by the officers not to do anything unlawful such as refusal of Government Tax or allowing the Government to refuse their goods. To this they assented but when asked to refuse that also saying they mostly refused. They were threatened with arrest if they persisted in this. The officers departed.

Early on the morning of Wednesday, the 17th June, a force of police 50 to 60 strong with lathis and other baton officers from Phara, Chinnampur and Chinnampur Thang arrived at the village from Madnapur an adjacent village where they were reported to have gone overnight to the house of Karmacharya. Immediately they entered into the house of Karmacharya (see left) and entered into the house of Karmacharya who was then away from home and shouted out "Vandana matam matam matam". The wife of Karmacharya said that there was some in the house, another voluntary was my male inmate and repeated them as go away. The police broke open the door, destroyed things, dashed in the ground her three or four year old child and smashed her neck with lathis and bats. Both the child and the mother fell down motionless. She was pregnant. This S. D. O. took notice interest in the movement. This is why he was made the target of police action. The other women of the house at that stage called for help and soon a crowd of about 100 people gathered. The police asked them if they wanted to fight. They said that they were volunteers pledged to non-violence, that they were ready to die, that they were there to protest against the police force. According to a report, many lathis were so charged then. The police started beating the people. They refused to disperse. They gave no warning, no notice to disperse, simply beat them with lathis and then about 15 of them simultaneously fired two to three rounds killing two and wounding forty. Six of whom are lying in a government hospital at Madnapur Hospital. The bullets were recovered by the people in their home, chest and were all in front and very good. Now the crowd swelled to 300 to 700 men. The police withdrew from that place and fell in on the bank of the River Palar (big tank). There they remained for 2 hours. More than they fired without making any arrangement for medical aid. About 100 patients came out carrying and tried to save the dead bodies which were by that time covered by the villagers in Madnapur, a distance of 3 miles, when they were refused to enter. Blood marks from the walls were recovered by the police, where it was impossible the walls were swept and taken away.

Two Congress volunteers (1930) have succeeded in an attempt to obtain employment for distributing pamphlets in the police. Sgt. Gopalakrishna, Malya and Indrapada have been given one year's rigorous imprisonment each at Madras. Sgt. Harkishan Mardol Shah, who was recently beaten at Chatterjee, has passed away on Saturday in the Government Hospital of Madras. Sgt. Bhattacharya (Bhattacharya Prasad, alias of Jyoti Sankar) has been given 15 months' rigorous imprisonment. Sps. Manjilata, Shobha and Kamalini have been sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment each at Madras.

Madras.—Sgt. Mahalingam Kallu of Madras has been sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. Sgt. B. V. Chakravarti have been sentenced to three to seven charges under Sections 145, 146 and 147 of the I. P. C. Sps. T. Kallappa and three others of Ponnai have been sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment. First today Souths were prohibited in Rs. 1,000 at Ponnai, while last year 50 shops located Rs. 1,500. Recently five per cent of the daily shops at Madras remained unopened. Lower shops are being opened in Madras. Two volunteers at Alambudam have been jailed respectively for 3 months' and six months' hard labour. Sgt. Ramdas Naidu of Alambudam in East Madras has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment under the Forest Act. The Chief Secy. Secy. of Ponnai has placed the names of its members on the disposal of the Ponnai Congress Committee for prohibition work. Sps. Kuman Shan's Chanderavathi of Koyamputur, Sps. Manjil Palanath Subbair of Pambur, Sps. Ramdas Naidu of Kallakudi, and Sps. Arulath Maruday of Kallu have been sentenced under Section 117, Villages of Kallakudi, Kallu and Kallu have received upon prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth import. Sps. Chatterjee, Vaidya, Pandey, Naidu of Kallakudi have been sentenced to 75 months' rigorous imprisonment. Local Madras Subbair of Koyamputur and three others of Thiruvallur have been sentenced. Sps. Manjilata, Kallu and Chatterjee Chatterjee Naidu have been sentenced at Koyamputur. Five volunteers have been sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment at Koyamputur. Dr. V. V. Acharya and Sps. V. H. Naidu have been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 each. Sps. C. H. Parvathi has been sentenced to one day's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50. Sps. A. S. Naidu has been awarded three months' rigorous imprisonment. All these occurrences have been given at Koyamputur. Prof. J. C. Jeyaraj, Dr. B. C. Sanyal, and Sps. A. V. Mahalingam have been awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 each in connection with the Kallakudi case.

Karnataka.—Out of 120 volunteers, who had attended in Bangalore for the Congress National Day, 80 have been reported to have been arrested at Bellary. A large procession of merchants of Mysore moved round the town on June 16th to show their sympathy towards the general strike. The officers of all towns and bus services in the district of North Kanara have been advised with a notice that if they attend volunteers to Mysore for any purpose, their names would be cancelled and they would be prosecuted. Section 144 has been promulgated at Mysore.

Madras.—The Government of Madras have ordered the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and the War Councils of Chittoor, West Krishna, East Krishna, West Godavari and Nellore to submit suggestions. They have further issued orders to the local bodies, various clubs and to take part in policies by burning national flags, celebrating arrested leaders, observing markets and stopping prohibition lawlessness violating the above regulations will be considered as suspended. Subbair Naidu Naidu of Ponnai has been awarded six months' simple imprisonment. A Madras case, April 1930, has been given two years' rigorous imprisonment for making the people of Madras to maintain order and to not drink palm trees. Two Congress workers and one student have been arrested at Villupattur. Twenty nine volunteers, including Sps. Kallakudi Naidu, have been sentenced at Madras to six months' rigorous imprisonment. Thirty two volunteers, located in Villupattur, have been arrested at Kallakudi. Sps. L. S. Prasad of Villupattur has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. The volunteers at Chittoor have been arrested. Madras volunteers have been arrested at Villupattur. Sps. Subbair Naidu, Naidu of Kallakudi has been given one year's rigorous imprisonment. Eleven persons of Mangalore, arrested for defying Section 144, have been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. Four volunteers, arrested on June 16th at Madras, have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In all 120 volunteers, have been jailed from Madras. The Chief Secy. Secy. of Kallakudi are arrested by the police, and the members were expelled with notice. Section 144 has been promulgated from Kallakudi. Police with responsible officers patrol the streets of Kallakudi on June 16th, and arrested every national flag and Gandhi caps. Display of national flags has been prohibited in the town for two months, and Sps. Kallakudi has been served with a notice to remove the national flag flying over his house. The Congress camp of Chittoor has been declared unlawful, and the volunteers were dispersed with notice. Ladies, who refused to remove the placards, were brutally beaten. No persons have been arrested at Andhra. Two volunteers of Mangalore camp have been arrested for violating Section 144. Their Gandhi caps were forcibly removed and trampled under foot. Sps. Manjilata Subbair and Naidu have been sentenced at Madras to six months' rigorous imprisonment. Sps. Kallakudi, a rich landlord of Chittoor, has been sentenced to five months' rigorous imprisonment. Five placards of the salt, prepared by Sps. Kallakudi, have been awarded six months' imprisonment. Twenty two Congressmen and two labour volunteers have been arrested for picketing liquor shops in Kallakudi. A band of ladies prepared salt beds in Kallakudi. Sps. S. Kallu has been sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment at Kallakudi. His car has been arrested to remove the flag of Rs. 100. Up till now 1,800 persons have been jailed in Madras Presidency.

Bangal.—Dr. Deshpande's camp has been arrested at Mysore. The police started on June 17th the Subbair Naidu, the Congress Kallakudi, Naidu and Naidu. Three at Kallakudi. Two persons have been arrested at Kallakudi. Naidu under Section 144 have been served upon the Congressmen of Mysore, 80th



Young India

A Weekly Journal

Editor Jai Ramdas Daulatram

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Sardar's Message

[The following is a reproduction in English of the Sardar's speech in the Legislative Council on Thursday last.]

I must first of all express my heartfelt thanks to you all for the cordial welcome you have given me on my return from the Netherlands.

You might not, of course, expect any address or suggestions from one regarding our campaign just at the present moment. Yet, I was not to get away before our new begin. I was able to gather very little information about our development and progress of our work during my term of imprisonment. But now I feel good to see your enthusiasm and your work sustained even when all our leaders are in jail and when Mahatmaji, our Commander-in-Chief, has been arrested and returned to an unhealthy land at Yverdon. My heartiest congratulations to you on your high spirits. I congratulate you also to the disappointed ones who have observed well on the remarkable courage you have shown till now. Again your debt as well as your resolve also deserve to be complimented.

More than this, perhaps, you may not expect from me at the present juncture. I want first of all to tell how the campaign is progressing in our country. The leaders are everywhere "freezing." I mean most of them and make them subordinate and study their method of light, as also being of the difficulties they are facing. In short I can only give confidence and lead after I see well agreement with the attitude in Congress towards the present war of Independence.

But you might have surely hoped to have been one attending about the story of my life. What shall I say about it? There were not leaders there. There were no hardships at all in jail. Do not believe my son who may say that there is unhappiness in jail life. You can feel extremely happy there and then too. To leave on your first day. Outside the jail you cannot feel so happy to go to the main area of you live there on your first day. For, except some duties with you in life, while reading my article the prison walls all present to me the happy days fully with sunshine and the best, and sleeping in a heap of soft mattresses in the lying down on a hard spot, when the President of the Indian National Congress, the chosen head of the people, a learned Indian statesman and when Mahatmaji, the greatest man on earth, is kept in Yverdon prison cells. It is nothing but truth, therefore, when I say that our hearts must be happy at those times the present makes the jail days tedious. I was shocked from bounding and halting, as it were, for those must be

and these words for being charged with disrespecting a commandment by a British magistrate prohibiting a speech. And I have not uttered any words during my term of imprisonment excepting, unfortunately, the two lines that I should have been given today. On being released a day earlier I complained to the Judge of being talked of my rights of the non liquet and a little more of Justice that I should have the tomorrow morning. Otherwise, I was quite happy there.

All our friends who are now in Netherlands (all are alright). You can hardly imagine the intensity of pain I felt while taking leave of them. They also felt very much. I am sure, while bidding are goodbye.

You must not, then, encourage my friends in your mind about life in jail. The Government is at present coping with anger at the loss of its leaders. This is a new sign that in a short time it will have to rage itself out and 'bail' at last, just as the lion we find at this hour in an exhibition of wild in jail in Holland in a short while.

I feel likewise on many things about the development of my own, but had sufficient thought that before would be used by the Government officials. That the Government would undoubtedly show British as present and treated and publicly non-violent attitude did not escape a few newspapers. But they have broken the bonds of hypocrisy. This is good to me, but why wonder about the use of force? The present Government is ready committed to be "modified," and would not a "civilized" Government make a show of its confidence in every age and every ways?

Our fight has only just begun. We have still to traverse a long way in vision. Why then fear arrest or imprisonment? And I will tell you just now that you would not and could not be so happy outside the prison as inside it.

Looking at the present as I do, the future seems to me to be full of hope. Your enthusiasm drives me to matters of hope. Here it is for you to demonstrate that the present campaign is not simply necessary, it is not like a tale that tells after a while. And it is the best of human progress at that most powerful State of Netherlands for a period of over twelve years. Many advised me today just after my release that I should not make any speech to you but I should be "rough" thereby. There were some who could not even imagine of my coming to your meeting for they feared I would again be arrested today. But I dare say everyone will be very glad to see a substitute of just now coming to my aid, though I have already been so paid and I am more than at life in jail. Why should present-day supply us when the real

peace in the faces of men? Our god is favored with the chains of civilization and discipline, peace and order and that is the peace we should have. No respect to faith, however empty, could keep us together over this land of men's men, sword broken the faces of men. It is for this cause that I have come here and will never find content in imprisonment.

I was today while stepping out of the so-called prison to have peace and a share from Ghada Dardar entering the jail. That man is a Hindu's worst enemy in a small village. His brother has been doing constructive work with me for the last 11 years. Things were so arranged and done here I brought him out of the prison. He is at present not in jail I have asked my friends to jail to keep a store reserved for me, by which I shall bring them all out or I shall also go there and sit with them. The man who is just to day imprisoned is a Hindu. His brother is well known through the length and breadth of Gujarat for his power of character and goodness. The law has brutally sentenced the lives of many a Hindu in Gujarat. He is now in Nadi jail. His name is Bhavabhai. I was moved to glad and happy in my life as when I take this share, Ghada/Dardar, entering the prison. When women from villages of Gujarat are prepared to sit in jail, the reality is, before me, just at hand. The fact that our share play today is ending hockey in Gujarat simply like my heart with confident joy.

May the voice of nationalism and service of the Motherland that is sweeping from the country today come out and come successfully! Our life would be worth nothing if we could not realize the beauty of our country by bringing immediately our great Gandhianism out of the prison walls at Varanasi and thus give a right reply to the world that has been looked at us by her imprisonment.

Death does not only come, some times and it does not make any distinction between a villain and a pauper. Why, then, should we be afraid of it? Let us all cast aside fear for all those false fears of death.

There is no Government in India, I dare say, that can, merely by throwing its military and air-machines, suppress a great nation of 140 million against its own will. Our victory is, therefore, no more and inevitable, believe me, as our own will and strong determination to run Independence.

I shall say, nature and freedom, now shape you my hopes. I rather feel a little hard too. I thank you once more for your courtesy and kindness to me.

I shall be able to tell you some way in a short time about I am well aware of the situation in Gujarat. But what new way is now to be shown? The Congress and the Mahatma have already shown it to us. And we made only Trade and Non-violence to march that way. It is a rapid road that can be followed equally by young and old, by men and women. It is a dignified characteristic of our religious war of Independence that even children can light it out. The sons of men, who will take men's hand from the battle and will get into men's proper place in the main, will be welcome to black caps in the history. Let us all, then, realize not only to win, many an fighting continuously and without swerving till victory be ours. May God grant us enough strength and lead us to our ultimate goal.

Promotion of Indigenous Industries

In the chairman's presentation, the Congress against politics the Viceroy said that his Government 'with anxious to see the promotion of indigenous industries. The Council with the Government has been the discussion between the Ministry and its members. The publication of the Indian geological survey results is an more steps: the Indian and Chinese spent behind the Government—a spirit of exploitation of India. The Indian, we understand, has been withdrawn. Under the circumstances we feel an apology is due to the Government authority for their commercial interest in them. The necessity of the members of the Government which goes one directly to making of such India has to be put off and should be replaced by a process calculated by the development of the country. This can only be done under complete Independence when we are ourselves guided our decisions.' J. C. K.]

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First Edition

Given

Boycott of British Goods

The Working Committee of the Congress has advocated an early and effective boycott of British goods. British goods, commerce and shipping companies. At first sight the proposed boycott to be effective in every particular India. But is it practicable? Every student of economics will tell you that it is not that that any country? In reality it not would inevitably lead to great harm to the economy of average Indian. But, because, the proposed means that the countries that export the superior products and capital goods in various types of articles, for which he would have to pay in all probably related prices. It is not known that many British products are the best in the world. For example, British machinery is regarded. British ships hold a high place in the market. The movement is now called upon to consider himself in circumstances which is point of weakness, difficulty or otherwise are made relevant to India.

British goods are the backbone of our banking system in India. They provide much facilities and the abundant income. Why should people agree their money resources as losses of their life's stable case? Are there any powerful powerful Indian banking organizations to replace them?

Why should Indians boycott British? Inevitably Congress when it is by no means certain that there are really good Indian companies to replace them? Surely this will mean that the Indian companies will continuously run their own and to say that they are too few to cope with the business. If British companies operate are boycotted what of the persons who have already entered with them? Are they to boycott their own created enterprise? If so, what is to happen to their partners?

British shipping more than any other, does mean the cost of transport of goods in and from India. This is a well known fact. If British shipping is boycotted it may seriously lead to a reduction in transportation and a fall in commerce that result in an increase in inflation, which means that the prices of goods will rise. Such

Young India

Scandalous

By JAGANNATH DASGUPTA

Dr. A. V. Thakkar of the Congress of India Society has done a public service by publishing his analysis of the money value of the food consumed by political prisoners in Salwan Jail. He has proved that each of them is asked to live on less than one anna of what is spent on feeding a European convict. An ordinary non-fasting prisoner in Salwan Jail gets between 2-4-12 per day. He may be a thief or a terror offender. He may belong to the lowest caste of non-Indian society. But his body must be better nourished than that of the best labour who may be industrially guilty of a political offence. Except for a few days at the start the rations allotted for a Vaidikrishna Patel or an Abhinav Tyagi were in fact Rs. 2-7-4 per day. They could hardly be fed on the lowest diet alone (2-4-0). But whatever their colour, caste, stage, religion were mentioned only for A and B class prisoners. The ordinary political prisoners were served from the common kitchen of the Jail. Bhaskar Dasgupta and Madan Dasgupta, sons of one father, were put in the extreme classes of A and C, and he had on the same a day, the other on five pice. Such preparation of rations were not confined within the limits of the Family of Madan Dasgupta. There were numerous instances of colleagues who moved in society on the same level but based themselves, not by exhibiting inequalities with different classes. The political prisoners in Salwan Jail were not particularly better fed because their authority must be kept firm. The A and B class prisoners gave up their special privilege as regard to diet and demanded to be fed from the common Jail kitchen like their C class comrades. They had to share the same food before this was agreed to.

The food prepared for the ordinary labour prisoners does not compare quite as well as that. The food they are asked to eat contains a fair amount of grit. The vegetable is often so unpalatable mixture of varieties of foodstuffs or other cheap stuff. The prisoners had to fight hard to get a pinch of salt in place of the vegetable. The unhealthy quality of the food has reduced the average quantity consumed by the political prisoners. The observations of Dr. A. V. Thakkar, obviously based on reliable data, show that the average consumption of food by political prisoners in Salwan Jail comes to 4 1/2 lbs of protein as well as the daily morning, 15 litres of protein as well as the evening and evening, 1 1/2 lb of pulses and 1 1/2 lb of vegetables, costing at most Rs. 2-4-11 per day.

It is clear that the Government asked the supply of new food Vaidikrishna Patel, Abhinav Tyagi, Jagannath Dasgupta, Bhaskar Dasgupta, Madan Dasgupta, Jaganmohan Dasgupta, Madan Dasgupta and a host of cultured names being fed on a price of only five pice a day. The example of A class prisoners in Salwan Jail has been followed by their colleagues in Madan prison. We know that similar action is being taken in a reorganised or national other jails in the country. It

is the only way which will safeguard political prisoners who take under the Government. The police then takes in that are sufficient and unmanageable. They must be abolished at once. All want positive food that is wholesome and adequate. The political prisoners of India require a ration of one anna. There are educational differences, but to difference in diet. Conditions in the regular jails must be more such to accord with the system adopted in Madan. Even then the price of food for the most cultured Indian political prisoner will be less than two-thirds of that served to a ordinary non-fasting convict. We are the last persons to fight for the great of professional treatment in political prisoners in such. There are no in the Madan prison, improved great rule for no prisoners who are denied in the ordinary Indian prisoner. But in the same case there is an attempt to the wide difference which exist in the diet given to political prisoners not only is different paid but even in the same jail. There is hardly a prison where almost all political convicts have not been naturally or bought and looked on account of food food. The Government has no intention to replace people whom it start themselves continue to and continue by being maintained on five pice per day. It may hope to kill the spirit of some in such conditions but no hope are desired in disappointment. All that the Government will succeed in achieving will be an miserable reputation for half starving in political prisoners who are guilty of no greater crime than that of peacefully striking outwards on themselves for the sake of their country's freedom.

Father follows the Son

Dr. Pankaj Dasgupta has this year the price of being a patriot. Only the other day the father followed the son in entering the path of India's unbroken lineage. Today he follows his son into the prison cell. This is as it should be. The sacrifice of a man nurtured in such who has the spirit of every nation on his mind and in the virtue of a national type of action should be a strong stimulus to the nation. He moved from the stage only increase the responsibility of the political workers to carry on the inheritance for freedom with increased vigour and courage. The arrest of Pankaj Dasgupta should raise the spirits of our people to be more ready for the men who are only many night political leaders will be in jail but when they will be the political workers, such as are left, must prepare for the emergency. The next and the most he might be to carry out the Congress programme without the help of any recognised leaders. The programme is already drafted out. Dasgupta advised it for the nation before he went. His political inheritance are there in the pages of the Young India. The people need nothing but the qualities of sacrifice, leadership and discipline to reach their goal. Whether they leader or that leader is with or not, the nation must march ahead under whatever conditions or temporary leadership may be possible from day to day. We make our debt out of day and then working them. Let us have it made our leaders from the ranks and the end that follow them.

J. D.

Notes

A Gentle Soul

A good soul has passed away. At a ripe old age of 73 Sheri Bhawanchar Jaganmohan Das, a veteran of long distance, has had been suffering for long. The end came on Thursday. His long and weary journey ended. As a great student of Gandhi, and for his long work, he was the privilege of being too long every time Gandhi came to Bombay. His lifetime associated with several of his public activities and worked at one time in the interest of the Congress and of the Tata bungalow Fund. He left behind in Gandhi, his devotion to the country's cause, his honesty and his lucubrations, to give an example, for over many making businessmen to follow. We recall Young India's deep sympathy with Sheri Bhawanchar's family. May his soul rest in peace.

The Sarkar

The time of a heated fight was well on its way again a few days. For how long? His friends think it may even be only for a week. Days and nights of a few more days put behind the people here before their words are in print. The Government ministers in Bihar, Vidarbha, the greatest home—bearing Mahatma Gandhi—against its continued march in this country. He was that the people's service a short while ago. The members of the Government had shown him to be the burden of a political leader. He showed all with him, of independence only the other day. He is now found in command in the new nation was of independence began in the morning of March 1930. The Government that the power that was in 1930 were before the light had continued. In seeking his body however, it only showed new faces in Congress which had they are left yet to return. Thanks to his last the Sarkar has lost 15 for its weight. The loss is really that of the Government. His courage, have enabled the Sarkar's power and without. What the body has given up the spirit has gained. By compulsion has to live on five plus a day the power-drunk bureaucracy has shown its own life. To a person's man like Vidarbha power had did not a lot of things like any spell in history. He was active with him. The people here has perhaps got more for it in his leaving world. Those who considered not to be the power plus for a man of the parliament and members of Vidarbha. That will now find in the continued a national fight whose great strength, independence will and independence will require the people to carry the struggle to the home and whether their beloved Sarkar is made or outside. His Majesty's power. Let us all hope by the Mol of Congress in view of our unflinching devotion and every not his Indian without much discussion or doubt.

Keep the Atmosphere Clean

A serious incident is reported from Assam. It is stated that after the police had finished its raid on the Saragpura case in the Jallawalla Bagh, the volunteers fired 100 shots with pyrotechnics. If this version of the incident is true, we have a word to say to the Assam Government. We hope they have no intention to adopt

the method of violence. His Saragpura volunteer who is due to be tried can do so. But we must not deprive all demonstrators, however otherwise effective, which much of the spirit of violence. Such demonstrators, have shown the courage. After the occurrence of many cases of violence in a few large cities, the nation has, on the whole, inclined to self-restraint and long to the extremely provocative conduct of the police in many places, the country, we are sure, is going to react in self-restraint. This spirit is only the other voluntary. Out of demonstrators, slogans and one which are inconsistent with our programme of non-violence, must be strictly prohibited by local leaders everywhere.

War on Khaddar

The white Khaddar is getting on by a yard, in the British field. It affects the eyes of most of the officials. They cannot bear its sight. They are not alone in it. The large loss of Khaddar has, as reported from Calcutta. The United Provinces of that place has represented the success of the Khaddar during 1924 of the Central Provinces. Under its all prevailing conditions, it has provided for a period of two months, the wearing of Khaddar was in any place boycotted by the public within the limits of the Central Provinces and ruled of the other conditions. If there is to be a war on the whole, we should show Khaddar and public in the largest police, plus available to take up the challenge of the United Provinces. We must get ourselves in the spirit of violence. A report comes from Karnataka in the Madras Presidency that the Deputy Collector of the place has prohibited wearing of Khaddar. We are teaching the lesson of Khaddar. Things must now come to a point that when Government officials get publicly in the light of Khaddar and public. Will they and Karnataka or other after such manner results? That standard, my eyes, everywhere even now.

104-50

J. D.

Reply to Subscribers

The Government has taken action against the Young India under the Press Ordinance and threatened a seizure of Rs. 1,000. This has not been given. The force of the Young India is, therefore, now increased or maintained. It is impossible to say how long it can continue to be based in power. If the Government prevents its appearance in print, every reference will be made to bring it out in some other form. It is obvious that if a period Young India becomes responsible by reference of its name, we shall not be able to send a copy of the new Young India to each one of our thousands of subscribers. We propose to attempt to push it with a couple of copies to possible but we feel that we must give up the idea of maintaining a regular list of subscribers of the present magazine. We, therefore, request all our subscribers to permit us to treat in their minds the unpaid balances of their subscriptions till such time as the Young India magazine is put when the paper will again be supplied to them for a period proportionate to the above balance. We trust that we shall receive the cooperation of all our subscribers in this matter.

Manager, Young India

"Law and Order"

We have received reports of several houses looted. The one reproduced below is typical of the way "Law and Order" is maintained at present.

"Wakreper is a village under Uluwu Head No. 1 P. S. Gajepa, Dist. Wilegapan. As a matter of fact part of Wilegapan, long since a movement against the Chinthele. This has been since Sp. 13th March Chief of the village, is the Vice-President of the Uluwu Head. At 3-4-38 4. 35, June 30, the additional District Magistrate Mr. S. K. Chock, the S. P., the Uluwu Magistrate, S. L. Dimpapala, Chief Constable and another A. S. I. of Godeb Town, with about 10-15 armed Police came there. Sp. Chock was away from home as were his two brothers, Chakrabarti and Arindit. There were three ladies and a male servant in the house then. But this was no fear to them as men who formerly made their way in to the main court of the house and placed the ladies under police custody. Then entering into the house, they broke open boxes and drawers, took away the sum of Rs. 1,000/- in U. C. notes and Rs. 1,000/- in silver and other coins, several small and some other valuable things were also taken besides. They broke up drawers, boxes, a bureau, a lamp, and many more articles worth about Rs. 1,000/-, costly clothes and articles of clothing to the value of Rs. 1,000/- were taken. Half metal and brass articles weighing about 50-60 pounds were broken. They mixed up rice, gold, incense, glass, metal-ware, painted oil, and these had incense poured over the heap. Documents and other papers of the wife were other things mixed up with it. Things were so done that up to 5 to 6-10 P. M. there appeared to be there scattered in some other village under this class."

Range of Rightfulness at Khatas

The President, Nagpal Council of Civil Disobedience, made us the following report received for 15 night before:

"There was no, as it is now, prohibition order in force at the time on the 10th of June. Date and time of the prohibition was announced on the day previous, viz., June 12. The police arrived in evening prohibition or violating the prohibition. At 12 P. M. on June 13, as on many other previous occasions, a procession of about 100 ladies, 400 students and some 500 played and unplayed witnesses, started from the Gandhi Park under the lead of Sp. Dandekar, Sec. a non-cooperating leader, and President of the Civil Disobedience Committee. When it reached the crossing near the P. T. O. Office and the Hospital, the Superintendent S. P. with a party of nearly 40 constables (having three officers) appeared there and obstructed the procession. Sp. Sec. informed him that they would rather proceed on route than if necessary till midnight. As a matter of fact they could have already for about 12 minutes and then, asked by the leader, continued proceeding on the ground for about eight minutes. The S. P. at this stage requested us to who was responsible for all this, told Sp. Dandekar and Subraman Chatterjee said to him that they were responsible, whereas the S. P.

asked them to disperse within 5 minutes. But hardly had we made into dispersal when Sp. Sec, Dandekar and Chatterjee were placed under arrest. Then began what might be called a violent battle, though it is a peaceful street, soon was opened, and even the ladies and power-by. Volunteers attempting to shield the ladies were usually beaten. Presently were chased and scattered under the hospital compound. Marginal Chakrabarti, Sec., Mr. 10th March, wife of Sp. Superintendent, Sec., an Ex. M. L. C. now in prison, received a serious wound on the neck which cost her freedom to the ground. Generally enough the majority of the S. P. appeared in the role of police and took a hand in the assault. Thirty-one persons including 4 ladies, 17 volunteers and 10 persons by remained injured. Besides a good number of people received lathi blows. Four persons, among whom was a lady, were very severely assaulted. No medical aid was arranged by the police even for Sp. Sec. The press report that the Civil Disobedience movement for against the prison of the Gandhi Park was in fact a half-truth. The cause is maintained for 12 hours after the lathiing, viz., at 12 A. M. the following day.

"We are definite on the point that no lathiing was thrown at the police by anybody. But lathiing was done by at least one S. P."

Law unto Themselves

"At 12-30 A. M., on the 17th June the alarm bell rang loudly, sending a host of panic stricken into jail. A procession of volunteers, marshalled past the jail with full-throated cries of Hindu Mahatma. The political prisoners about 30 in number took up the national cry and echoed it. Two hours a high level movement of a group of police. The next where political prisoners were in, was locked up. A hole while the words the door opened and some armed policemen entered. They cautiously entered to search on the ground with rifles, batons, bottles of oil and bayonets. Master Abdul Aziz, a Congress leader and a respectable gentleman, was so severely beaten that it was not before 5 hours that he escaped consciousness. He escaped escape of men driven by the armed men, waited at the jail gate. We were again locked up. We heard once from parties of the jail that the men. We remained so locked up. Our little brother went through the affair with a cool disinterested courage. It was raining. I remained watching for three hours. I was told Khatamabadi was severely beaten with baton and of rifles. It is definite to give you an idea of what happened."

J. C. K.

From the Police Cell

"For many weeks we have been receiving letters from Gandhi. He writes, on the whole, as he will. He is doing a great deal of speaking and in fact we would be especially often in the prison and possibilities of the little talk. He is, of course, speaking as a "hard made bamboo leaf, in so far as we may hear in these days. He has also mixed up some grass with in the form of a song."

"We may hope to be able to give you regular news in future."

Winn

Our Reaction

(By J. C. KENNEDY)

In a struggle of this kind we are engaged in, it is most difficult to keep one's head cool and clear and to maintain towards both sides a balance without constantly appearing biased in the outcome. We are always in danger of being carried away by the many and overwhelming influences and offered one thing which might prove fatal to our cause. Our stronghold is indestructible and that is exactly the weak spot of the bureaucracy. It is the same old story of our civilization's days of the slightest bit hard and the weaklings or weak lagged at such times. If we keep a step and get out of our slowness we cannot estimate what irreparable damage may be done. Hence the need for the greatest caution.

Violence can be practiced in one way only. Freedom of thought with India is only the physical form of violence. On this kind of danger we have not been getting up to and we have passed close at many a neck in the past few months. These rocks are above water and are easily discernible. There are other submerged hazards of violence which are very difficult to detect unless we are always on the watch. "Out of the structures of the heart the words speak." If we want our speech and action to be clear and pure, our thoughts have to be purified, which is a very difficult undertaking. If there is violence in our heart still it will show out in an expected manner.

The bureaucracy—our enemy—is definitely concerned to violence. It has gone everywhere to this spot in various ways. If we estimate my personal work against the members of the bureaucracy we are likely to perceive violence also. So it is very important to keep in mind that there should be no personal enmity. The Indians are victims of discrimination and their violent distribution of the past makes it difficult for them to act towards us in a non-violent way. It is up to us to win them over if we can and create them. Success of our movement in this part is very often that it is difficult to understand their action. If we or our side demand or require we shall not be worthy of our work. The most and the only lasting way of winning over a person is not to require or make rules of behavior but to bring about such a change in the movement that everyone will want to be influenced automatically.

It appears to be a crime to maintain Satyagraha. The bureaucracy does it so. Several persons have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for having shown sympathy to Satyagraha. The American Madras Mission has been asked to discontinue itself from the action of Rev. Ralph Kathan who is "guilty" of having shown kindness and sympathy to Mr. Ragsdale Ragsdale for 12 hours in his own house. This is a wicked form of violence—confusing with the personal right of having such friends as please. We understand that Mr. Kathan is leaving for America. We do hope that this does not mean that the American Madras Mission has given their legs down. We expect them to be ready enough to stand up for their rights. It is wrong to allow the bureaucracy to run wild without checking its mad career. The Mission will be slowly getting on its feet if it does not correspondingly permit

these rules to take them the illegal and without discipline of a democratic bureaucracy. Nobody is able today to prevent anyone. Unless the other Mission takes such themselves involvement in the bureaucracy they will also be necessary of similar actions. For those who are in this and present a a mental limit to the many of society that it goes about our head like a running lion unless which it may devour. Will the Mission stand for liberty of slavery?

Repeated but little efforts had been made by the bureaucracy in the past to reproduce all movements of the right of Gandhi's age. One by one the bureaucracy is following up its chaotic development. At present a definite order has been passed against workers in public places these symbols of purity and service there is another form of violence in the form of hate.

The case of a leader in Bombay by the D. I. to foster British connection is also another form of violence aimed out of policy, influence and control.

The quality has good physical violence, consistently and these matters of mind have on the part of the bureaucracy has led the people stronger and clearer to have physical force.

What should be our course in the other form of violence? We have to remember in the first place we are not up against the British in a personal way, but we are fighting the bureaucracy which includes several of our own representatives. We shall be staying from our purpose if we let anyone who is not a part of this machine maintain of what is not necessary to the ordinary order. We ought not to practice this movement. Satyagraha should follow the demand. "His that is not against us is for us."

Foreign Clerk or the Lathi

Reports received from several parts of the country show that there are signs of a change of mood. Till now the police have been starting hard to drive "the Lathi home"—into the population by lathi charges and violence to public. Harrow found that the method not only failed them in obtaining their object but also on the other hand helped to cement the Satyagrahis and others who were till now merely spectators and thus extended national feeling and gave rise to feelings in the movement which nothing else could have given. They are now turning to attacking the arrested prisoners in the Thane and looking the houses of leaders. If the authorities think that this will damp the spirit of the people it only goes to show how little they understand the spirit that is stirred.

On the 11th June at Lathmar lock up at Calcutta some of the police who are arrested were taken to the Thane so anxiously that three of them had to be removed bleeding through the wire and the march to the Medical College Hospital.

That a few foreign clerks have been turned on lathi. Some of the leaders in Bombay had even written to the police asking them to leave the "clerkdom" alone as they did not want the possible plotting of Satyagrahis.

J. C. K.

Bihar—Shriam Karmachand, President of the Bihar Congress Committee of Haridwar, has been awarded two months' simple imprisonment under Section 133 of the I. P. C. Seven other collectors, awarded along with him, have been awarded for one month's rigorous imprisonment. Shriam of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee claims that during the week ending 28th June 148 trials among have been offered in the province, while during the last of month and intervention in 1935. Bala Samojitra Datta, Sp. Chatterjee and Ramchandra Tripathi of Darbhanga and three others of Bakelur have been awarded on June 21st. The persons of Mathurpur, Ramachandra Gupta, Kanchanbharadatta, and Madhupatraya Choudhury of Darbhanga, six persons of Gaya, and types of Muzaffar have been awarded on June 21st. Dr. Karmachand Sharma of Darbhanga has been sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. Sp. Samrat Mahla, Saranvaran Mahla, Dan Puffer, and six others have been awarded at Dakhara. Dinkar Chandra Karmachand and two others have been awarded at Patna on June 21st. Twenty six collectors, awarded at Champaran, have been sentenced to five months' imprisonment each. One has been given six months' rigorous imprisonment term. Mr. Kishor Chandra Bera of Kanchi and Sp. Kanchi Choudhury of Haridwar have been awarded. Shriprasad of Bhojpur has been awarded since June 21st, and sixteen persons have been awarded. Twelve volunteers of Munger have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment each. Sp. Jankinath, M.B.L. C., has been awarded at Chapra. Post. Janki Sahas has been awarded at Patna in six months' rigorous imprisonment.

U. P.—Prade Khandel Valia, Asst. President of the Bihar National Congress, and Dr. Syed Mahmood, Secretary of the Congress, have been awarded at Allahabad on June 20th. The Government of India has declared unlawful the Congress Working Committee and all Congress Street Salma of the U. P. Prade Karmachand Tripathi and two others have been awarded at Banar on June 21st. Sp. Pradebharadatta Thakur, President of the Sarwan of People Society, Bala Sarwanand Gupta, Treasurer of the Congress, and Ashutosh Karmachand of Kashi Valia have been awarded three months' and twenty days' rigorous imprisonment each for defying Section 144 at Ban. Bala Tripathi Singh, Bala Choudhary and three others, have been given no needed rigorous imprisonment each at Lucknow. Prade Varshad Mahara Tripathi, member of the Sarwan of India Society, and Sp. Kanchi Karmachand Singh have been awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment at Lucknow for defying Section 144. Sp. Dinkar Chandra of Jhansi has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. Prade Janki Dey and Dr. Gopal Singh have been given six years' simple imprisonment each at Munger. Sp. Choudhary Datta, who received sentence at the hands of the police on June, has been awarded in violation. Section 144 has been applied to the village, and houses of six volunteers, defying it, was awarded by the police. Eighteen volunteers have been awarded in Banar. Janki The Mahatma group was awarded by the police. The Government of the U. P. have declared defunct all copies of the Working Committee's resolution pertaining to the police and the

military. A meeting awarded by the Congress Committee of State, was awarded by hitherto and about thirty persons (unrecorded). Sp. Karmachand Choudhary of Ban Bagli has been awarded for twenty a imprisonment, and Sp. Choudhary Sharma has been awarded. Sp. Karmachand of Ban has been given three months' simple imprisonment. A meeting of the 1935 has been demanded of the Sarwanand Sarwanand of Allahabad. The editor has decided to issue a copy of the article of the above demand. Almost all shops of Agra have got their shops closed since awarded by the Congress. About 250 authority have been killed in Choudhary. The day Sarwanand has ended at Lucknow, the police having withdrawn from the Amritsar Park and the ordinary order under Section 144 has not been given a new issue of term. About twenty volunteers have been awarded at Lucknow on June 21st. Seven volunteers have been awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment each. The Congress office at Delhi has been awarded. Six hundred, Choudhary and Karmachand, all Congress workers of Delhi have been awarded. Bala Karmachand of Noida has been sentenced to six months' and seven days' rigorous imprisonment. Most workers of Banar have been jailed for six months' rigorous term under the Salt Act. Four persons are under arrest at Banar. Sp. Karmachand Kashi Mahara has been awarded at Sarwanand. Prade Janki Singh has been awarded at Haridwar.

Ajmer—Prade Karmachand Mahara, awarded under Section 117 of Agra, has been awarded two years' rigorous imprisonment. Six Congress workers, Kanchi Mahara, Karmachand, Pradebharadatta and Kanchi Mahara Singh were awarded at Banar. The first four have been given rigorous months' rigorous imprisonment, and the last has been jailed for six years' rigorous term.

Delhi—Following of latest shops in Delhi has been commenced since June 21st. All foreign cloth dealers in the city have awarded of an agreement with the Congress Committee. The Sarwanand Sharma of Delhi was jailed by the police on June 20th, and copies of the contents of the Working Committee relating to the police and the military were seized. The order under Section 144 has not been removed yet.

Punjab—The Government of the Punjab have declared the following organisations unlawful: the Punjab Provincial War Council, the Amritsar District War Council, the Punjab Provincial Sarwanand Committee, the Punjab Provincial Sarwanand District Salma Committee, all Kanchi-in-Punjab Salma of the province, and the Workers' House at Lahore. Police raided and awarded Sarwanand Mahara Salma office at Lahore, Kanchi, Amritsar, Karmachand, Kanchi, Pradebharadatta and Kanchi Karmachand Puri, Sp. Amritsar Gupta, Pradebharadatta and Kanchi Karmachand Sarwanand, office houses of the War Council of Amritsar, have been awarded. Mahara Janki Kanchi, Pradebharadatta Vaidya, Kanchi Janki, Dr. Kanchi Kanchi, Kanchi Choudhary, Kanchi Choudhary and Sp. Karmachand, workers of Lahore, have been awarded. Sp. Kanchi Choudhary and Kanchi Choudhary have been awarded in connection with the Sarwanand Mahara Salma. Sp. Janki Choudhary

Congress Section

Working Committee's Resolutions

The All-India Working Committee commenced its session at Allahabad on the 25th Inst. The following are the resolutions adopted by the Committee, in some of them a few alterations are necessary which have to now been initiated by the office, but, for the present, they are not available. The only subject in which all resolutions have been put into force, owing to Paragraph 10, 11 is the one on the general character — i. e. C. G. U. etc.

Resolution 1

1. That Committee endorse the arrangement evolved by the Acting President with the All-India coal committee, to call on exporters. A whereby the coal will owners have agreed to take effective steps to prevent the possession of stock which can be realised for kind and to provide for storage of stock by making available to the consumer Standard coal made at Indian pits manufactured by themselves or after having passed coal Indian managed mills up to the end of October 1930 at prices not exceeding those then prevailing up to about the 12 March 1930 or when the market price was higher during the interval.

2. That the Committee endorse the Acting President to represent the Congress to the Joint Board to be constituted under the coal arrangement.

3. That the Committee advise with the Justice that some of the Standard mill owners have also agreed to be prices as offered for standard class of their manufacture and will open their and other mills in the country to sell up to low with Standard in the other particular agreed upon by the latter.

Resolution 2

The Working Committee advise with reluctance the measure made in the boycott of foreign cloth as a very large number of them, towns and villages and especially in rural areas, of the India who live in possession of the measures of the Committee are only stopped the sale of such cloth but have also agreed to accept under export, placed and refuse them placing fresh orders, thereby causing a very considerable fall in the exports of all foreign textile goods. The Committee calls upon the dealers in foreign cloth in places where they are not yet stopped the sale of such cloth to stop such sales forthwith, and to their leaders to do so. Hence the Congress organisations concerned to enforce strict and vigorous policing of the shops of such dealers. The Committee expects the sale of foreign cloth will be stopped everywhere in India before the 15th July 1930 and calls upon the P. C. C. to make a full report on that day. Congress organisations are hereby requested that they

— passed by the Committee on the 25th — they are prohibited from selling into or

accepting any arrangement, in the sale of foreign cloth providing sale of such cloth for any period.

Resolution 3

The Committee calls upon all Congress organisations and the country at large to take more vigorous steps to bring about a complete boycott of British goods generally than have so far been done by giving preference to goods of non-British manufacture wherever similar Standard goods are not available.

Resolution 4

The Committee calls upon the people to organise and enforce a strict moral boycott of all Government officials and others known to have participated directly or indirectly in the activities connected upon the people or with the national movement.

Resolution 5

The Working Committee calls attention to the resolutions of the Indian National Congress passed at Gaya in 1929 and at Lahore in 1930 whereby the Congress resolved the financial freedom and autonomy directly or indirectly imposed on India by the British Government except such freedom and autonomy to be adopted to be put by an independent national and advise the Indian public not to buy or accept any bank bonds of the Government of India, whether as an investment or in connection of their business liability of the same or under bonds.

Resolution 6

Whereas the present legal tender value or exchange of the silver rupee in India, has been fixed arbitrarily by the British Government on the basis of strong public opposition, while the intrinsic value of the rupee is still over a third of the legal tender value in fact, and whereas there is imminent likelihood of further depreciation of the value of the rupee, the Working Committee strongly advises the people of India not to accept rupee in currency notes in payment of any dues against the Government but to insist on payment in gold wherever possible. The Committee further advises the people to take the earliest opportunity to convert all their currency holdings of rupees in some into gold and particularly to insist on all payments for their exports to be made in gold only.

Resolution 7

In the course of the Committee the have has agreed upon statistics of Indian refugees should have been left down to the movement for national freedom and directs all Provincial Committees to call upon such statistics within their respective jurisdictions to place their services at the disposal of the Congress in such manner and to such extent including complete acceptance of their studies on the progress of the national movement may require. The Committee trusts that all statistics will readily respond to such call.

Resolution 8

Whereas a provision of the policy of non-cooperation the Government has declared a certain number of Provincial and District Congress Committees

Young India

AHMEDABAD.

Date 18th September 1930.

No. 28.

A Pilgrim to London.

In spite of the country's strong protest the Government doggedly went through the show of an enquiry and put the country to the expense of many lakhs of rupees in staging the Simon Commission. Not a pie of that expenditure will be of any use to us. Now they are embarking on another venture to waste more money. No leader with any traces of a conscience will accept or agree to an expenditure of public money on his behalf unless he is fully convinced that the people from whom the money ultimately comes desire and require him to render his services. Let each delegate to the E.T. Conference ask himself the question "How many millions of my countrymen are desirous and insistent on my rendering what help I can in forming a constitution for them?" If an honest and satisfactory answer is possible then he may accept with a clear conscience the incidental expenditure consequent on his services and our blessings will go with him however much we may differ from his view point. If on the other hand he can not satisfy himself then this trip becomes a personal tour and he should bear his own expenditure. The British Govt. has again and again given unmistakable proof of its utter irresponsibility in all financial matters; but is it too much to expect that some of responsibility and stewardship in men who proceed to discuss a constitution for the country?

Through Arabian Eyes.

Apart from the personnel itself the principle on which the whole show is engineered wrong. It is always useful to get the perspective and impression of third parties on such matters. - Rev. J.H. Kellogg of New York says in a letter this week "There is no confidence in this country in the E.T.C. We know that is doomed to failure. MacDonald is fatuous when he is not out and

out cowardly. 'Oh what a fall is there my brethren! Courage to you. God is with you.' Those who go to E.T.C. under present conditions are playing the Govt. game for a mass of potage. I.C. Samarappa. From "Tasaddud Maashir".

(The following is a translation of Gandhi's discussion discourse this week. V.C.D.)

Removal of Untouchability.

"This too is a new observance like the control of the Palatya and might even appear a little strange. But it is of vital importance. Untouchability implies pollution by touch, and therefore the words of Akba, it is an abomination. Wherever it obtains, empty formalism replaces and corrupts religion. None can be untouchable, as all souls are sparks of one and the same Fire. It is wrong to treat human beings as untouchables. It is also wrong to entertain false notions about touching a dead body, which should be an object of pity and respect. It is only out of considerations of health, that we bathe after handling a dead body or after an application of oil or a shave. One who does not bathe in such cases may be looked upon as dirty but not as a pinner. A mother may be 'Untouchable' so long as she has not bathed or washed her hands and feet after handling her child's waste, but if a child then touches her in play, it will not be polluted by the touch, nor will its soul be affected adversely. But say-- S. Dada, Chaudhary and the like are contemptuously looked down upon as untouchables from birth. They may bathe for years with any amount of soap, dyes and put on a Saffron like Tushkaran, read the Gita every day and follow a learned profession, and yet they remain untouchables. This is not religion, but rank irreligion fit to be only to be destroyed. By making removal of untouchability a plank in our platform, we assert our belief that untouchability is not only not a part and parcel of Hinduism but a corroding and sinful superstition - which has infected Hinduism, and that it is the bounden duty of

every Hindu to strive for its abolition. Every Hindu, therefore, who considers it a sin, should atone for it by fraternising with untouchables teaching them in a spirit of love and service, deeming himself purified by their touch, redressing their grievances, helping them patiently to overcome ignorance and other evils due to the slavery of ages, and inspiring other Hindus to do likewise. Then can wickedness the removal of untouchability from this spiritual standpoint, its material and political -- results sink into insignificance in his eyes, and one benefits the so called untouchables regardless of such results. Sakers after Truth will never waste a thought on the material consequences of their quest, which is not a matter of policy with them but something intervened with the very texture of their lives. This is equally true of the removal of untouchability. And when we have once realised the supreme importance of this observance, we shall discover that the evil it seeks to combat is not restricted in its operation to the oppressed classes. Still, no bigger than a mustard seed in the first -- instance, soon assuming gigantic proportions, and in the long run destroys that upon which it settles. Similarly endless are the ramifications of untouchability, which now embraces within its scope followers of other faiths and sects and even follower -- s of the same denomination, so much so, that some varieties of untouchability have become a veritable burden to the earth. They have hardly enough time even to look after themselves thanks to their never-ending abolution and exclusive preparation of food while pretending to pray to God they offer -- worship not to God but to -- themselves. This observance therefore is not fulfilled merely by making friends with 'untouchables' but by loving all life as one's own self. Removal of untouchability means love for and service of the whole world, and it thus merges into Ahimsa. Removal of untouchability spoils the breaking down of barriers between man and man and between the various orders of being. We find such barriers erected everywhere in the world, but --

here we have been mainly concerned with the untouchability which has received religious sanction in India and reduced lakhs and crores of human beings to a state bordering -- s on slavery."

Weekly Star News.

L.A. Times:-

Security demanded of 'Arye -- Westland'. Lathi charges on prisoners. Convictions: 3 persons.

Wash. Post:-

Lathi charge at D. Lott. Convictions: 26 women & 229 men.

Times:-

Convictions. 188 workers.

Wash. Post:-

Convictions: Sgt. F. S. Pethere.

W. P. N.

Sgt. J. Kurni died in jail. Lathi charges at Indore Aligarh. Convictions. 179 workers.

Wash. Post:-

Security demanded of 'Sheret's 'Alle P. S.'. Convictions: 1 lady & 81 volunteers.

Wash. Post:-

Security taken of 'Anandachand Semachar'. Lathi charges at Dhundhake, Khas, Porwala and Nadid. Felling books picketed successfully. Convictions: Shri. Manubehn Patel and 90 men.

Wash. Post:-

Lathi charge at Karved. Convictions. 64 workers.

Wash. Post:-

Security demanded of 'Hindushti Advertiser' & 'Komalada' and its press. Convictions: Shri. P. Annal, Tripura -- men and 140 others.

Wash. Post:-

Convictions. 11 workers.

W. P. N. Province:-

Convictions: 23 men.

The Hindu:-

Lathi charges at Amritsar and Sarodha. The P.C.C. and the Lahore City C.C. have been declared unlawful. Convictions: 78 workers.

Wash. Post:-

HussainKash was stripped and given 18 stripes in jail. Lathi charge at Korochi. Convictions. Sgt. Dahan & 27 men.

W. P. N.

Security demanded of the 'Makewari' the 'Arya Bhaskar Press' & the 'Krishna Press'. Prisoners in Meerut jail flogged. Lathi charges at Khajpur, Patna, etc. Meerut Caste, Meerut Aligarh. Convictions: 1327.

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Young India

AHMEDABAD.

15th September 1930

Page 1.

Dear Sir,

We are receiving repeated complaints of flogging, whipping and assaulting of political prisoners in jail. We are not surprised at finding so ~~degraded~~ of gallantry left in the Britishers in India. It has always been deemed cowardly to molest the underdog or hit below the belt but this seems to be the golden rule of Lord Irwin's Government, as those public servants who distinguish themselves by such conduct receive high praise from those in authority and are shielded from any criticism.

The Government very -- jealously safeguard also the excess of the police. A few weeks ago the first committee appointed to inquire into the police atrocities in Pampur (Gujarat) was convicted. Last Thursday the second committee was also arrested at their first sitting because the Govt. felt that such an enquiry will be embarrassing to the police. If this reason were carried to the logical conclusion there can be no room for courts of justice under the British Government. As the accused will be embarrassed and in reality there isn't the Govt. or its representatives become the accused and there is no justice but the despots will. During the last few months we have had ample evidence to show the Britishers are in India to give free reins to looting, lawlessness and to encourage brutality under the guise of 'Law & Order'.

J. G. Kumbhkar.

From "Taranga Mandir".

Mr. Gandhi's discourse this week is on Physical Labour. He gives below a translation of it.

J. G. D.

The law that to live man must work first came home to me upon reading Tolstoy's essay on 'Industry and Idleness'. Not even before I had grasped it so clearly, I had begun to observe it soon after reading Ruskin's 'Unto this Last'. The divine law that man must earn his bread by

labouring with his own hands was first stressed not by Tolstoy, but by an obscure Russian writer named T. M. Dostareff. Tolstoy adopted it and gave it wider publicity. In my view the same principle has been set forth in the Third Chapter of the Gita, where we are told, that he who eats without offering --- sacrificially stolen food, sacrificial here can only mean bread-labour. But however that may be, this is the gospel of the observance.

Reason too leads us to an identical conclusion. How can a man, who does not work, have the right to eat? 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread', says the Bible. A millionaire cannot carry on for long and will soon get tired of his life if he rolls in his bed all day long and gets others even to put his food into his mouth. He therefore produces hunger by exercise and eats at any rate with his own hands and mouth. If every one, whether rich or poor, has thus to take exercise in some shape or form, why should it not assume the form of bread-labour? - is the question that naturally suggests itself. No one asks the cultivator to take the air or to exercise his muscles, and more than nine tenths of humanity lives by tilling the soil. How much happier, healthier and more peaceful would be the world become if the remaining tenths followed the example of the overwhelming majority? And many hardships connected with agriculture would be easily redressed upon intelligent people taking a hand in it. Again invidious distinctions of rank would be abolished when every one without exception acknowledged bread-labour as obligatory upon oneself. These distinctions have of late invaded the system of ~~work~~ in which they have really no place at all. There is a world-wide conflict between capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich. As much earned his bread in the sweat of his brow, distinctions of rank would be obliterated. The rich would still be there, but they would earn themselves only instead of what they

property, and would see it mainly in the public interest.

Bread-labour is a veritable blessing to one who would observe non-violence, worship Truth, and note the observance of Brahmacharya & spontaneous proceeding. This labour can really be related to agriculture alone. But at present at any rate, every one is not in a position to take to it. One can therefore spin or weave, or take up carpentering or smithy instead of tilling the soil, always holding it up, however, as an ideal before oneself. Every one must be one's own scavenger. Excretion is a necessary to eating; and the best thing would be for every one to dispose of one's own waste. If this is impossible, each family should see to its own scavenging. I have felt for years, that some great force has slept in where scavenging has been made the concern of a separate class in society. We have no historical record of the man who first assigned the lowest status to this essential sanitary service. Whoever he was, he by no means did us a service. We should, from our very childhood, have the idea impressed upon our minds that we are all scavengers, and the easiest way of doing so is for every one, who has realised this, to commence bread-labour as scavengers. Scavenging thus intelligently taken up will at once impart to one a true understanding of religion. Children, old men and men disabled by disease do not constitute an exception to the law of bread-labour. A child is included in the number. And if no one infringed the law, old men would be able-bodied, and mankind would be a messenger to disease.

Personal Note.

In answer of a letter dated the 7th instant and addressed to Mircham, Gandhiji writes:-

"I have regained the weight I had lost here. I weighed 104 lbs last Friday. I have dropped the dried fruit age. The sour lime remains. I take vegetables in the place of dried fruit. Sweet potatoes and raw tomatoes are standing vegetables. The former are roasted. A green

vegetable is boiled - generally it is cabbage or marrow or the like. This change accounts for the restoration of the weight, and constipation no longer troubles me. If the change proves unsuccessful in the long run, the cost is considerably reduced. Let us see. I have made my hard and fast rule about the avoidance of fruit. But just now it is no deprivation whatsoever, and possibly a gain in health.

"My metaphor the wheel is increasing. The fatigue is no longer felt. I see that if you concentrate on the pedal and whilst the thread is drawing, then on the point of the spindle when the thread is being shifted to the cone, and then on the cone when it is brought there, you avoid breakage if the pedal is sound. I hope shortly to increase the speed appreciably. It is better even now. But there is much room for improvement. Any way just now it is the wheel that absorbs my attention to the exclusion of other studies."

V. G. D.

Weekly War Note.

The Working Committee of the Congress has been declared unlawful in Bihar and Delhi.

14th - Provincial & two District Congress Committees declared unlawful. Convictions: Sjt. N. Chis. **14th** - Security demanded of "Hindoo". Convictions: 7 l-dice & 179 workers.

14th - Convictions 167 workers. **14th** - In Delhi observed an election day. Convictions: - Sjt. Abdullah Sheth, Shri. Jankar Kandar and members of the War Council and 18 picketers.

14th - In Delhi charges at Bommar & at Salai. Firing at Salai. Convictions: 161 workers.

14th - In Delhi charges at Baroda. Convictions: 97 workers.

14th - Bengal Provincial Committee arrested. Delhi charges at -- B. S. S. & at Tr. J. Convictions: 68 workers.

14th - Convictions: 17 workers.

14th - Security demanded of "Hindoo" & "Akhya". Firing at Calcutta. 3 killed. Delhi charges at Jankar and Bommar. Convictions: - Sjt. B. S. Pandit & 191 men and 1 ladies.

14th - 2500 today trees cut down in Atgaon Teluka. Convictions: 48 workers.

Continued by Mahatma Mahendra Prasad

Young India

AHMEDABAD.

End-October-1930

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Choosing out the Programmes.

The moonoon season bearing its end persons responsible for laying out the main lines of activity are busy considering the merits of various schemes. We have to bear in mind the basic factor that our political programme should in no way interfere with the production of villagers.

At present the fields are covered with standing crops and the villager has to be present on the spot. Programmes which would withdraw such cultivators from their farms should not be contemplated. Any loss in production will be a national disaster. Schemes such as sustained mass raids on salt depots were undesirable in April & May when both the rabi and khariff crops had been harvested and the farmers were going through a period of comparative leisure. Any programme we lay out should be such as to fit readily into the annual timetable of the farmer and not disturb it. A plan such as a No-Tax Campaign may suit the present season well.

Lathi versus Non-Violence.
In the work of uplifting depressed classes and the hill tribes Sjt. L.V.Thakkar stands head and shoulders over the rest of us, without even excepting Gandhi himself. He was not a Satyagrahi and not even a politician of the moderate school. He was a humanitarian worker first & last. At first he intended putting up a defence but as the case went on he found there was no room for truth in the British Court and so declined to take any further part in the proceedings.

By his imprisonment (more so than even in the case of Ghandiji) the Govt. stands convicted of its anti-social tendencies. "The Prince of this world (the Britishers) hath found nothing in him". What room can there be under the Lathi Raj for an avowed enemy of oppression, slavery & injustice. J.C. Kumarappa.

Ignoring their own Grave.

Every one, from the Viceroy downwards, agrees that the present is a very hard time for the Indian agriculturist, thanks to what the Viceroy rightly described as a 'treacherous' fall in the price of all agricultural commodities. According to the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, the cost of production of jute, for and away the principal crop of Bengal, is about six rupees while the prevailing price is about 3 rupees. According to the leader writer of 'The Times of India' "In South India the ryots are now pledging the gold ornaments of their women to pay their land revenue assessment." Bombay Presidency has within its limits 8 million acres of cotton lands, whose crop represents one-fourth of the entire cotton crop of India; and the price of cotton has fallen by 40 per cent since November 1929. The cost of cultivating an acre of cotton in April is about 40 rupees and even if we assume the maximum of output, the crop would bring about 30 rupees entailing dead loss of 10 rupees per acre. Even the minister, Sjt. Jadar said the other day that "It was a question whether the cultivator will recover the expenditure he has to incur on raising the crop." His doubts on the point are shared even by "The Times of India" which asks: "The prospect is there that the agriculturist will recoup himself for his outlay, or receive an adequate return for his toil...? What likelihood is there that he will receive enough for his crop to enable him and his family to live in the months to come without resorting to the money-lender, if circumstances compel him to market his cotton at an unremunerative price?" and by the Central Cotton Committee which "draws the attention of the Govt. to the present low level of cotton prices, which are below the cost of growing" and "considers that effective means should be devised for alleviating the risk of ruin to the cotton grower". And the worst is still to come. "The Times of India" points

that the Indian spot will be much less than he is now, as the full effects of the blight have not yet grown themselves in India. There could even otherwise have been bad enough, indeed for the cultivator, but as they would not have been so bad as they are the Govt. had not indulged in what was Parasitism called. The ostensible cost of 18% per cent indicated on the growers of opium produced in India through the revenue policy of the Govt.

As regards the means of alleviating the hardships of the peasants, even "The Times of India" writes. "The most that Govt. could be expected to do directly would be to postpone or remit taxation in some measure". This is a kind of relief which could at once be given to any one who devoted the least possible thought to the subject. But the British Govt. could not be British if they did not give us a stone when asked for bread. Instead of postponing, much less remitting, they are expediting the collection of land revenue. Ruas which would ordinarily be recovered in January next are being realized at the present time. If they did not do so, how could the members of the Revenue Service, for instance, draw their fat salaries? But they can not live upon the poor Indian for ever. The day of reckoning is not far. Then the work of an Indian cultivator turns, his turning will spell the overturning of the British Empire. T. G. D. (Mrs. "Varanasi Herald").

A translation of Gandhi's discourse this week on "Tolerance" is given below. T. G. D. I. I did not like this word, but could not think of a better one. Tolerance implies a gratuitous assumption of the inferiority of other faiths to one's own, whereas Jesus teaches us to entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as we accord to our own, thus admitting the imperfection of the latter. This admission will be readily made by a seeker of Truth who follows the law of love. If we had attained the full vision of Truth, we would no longer be seekers, but would be God. For Truth is God. But being only seekers we are poor, our quest and are conscious of our imperfection. And if we are impure ourselves, religion as conceived by us must also be imperfect. We have not followed religion in its proper

spirit as we have not followed the religion of love. Hence, this imperfection in our religion is a process of evolution. We have not reached the Truth towards which we are possibly evolving because of such evolution. And all faiths outlined by men are imperfect, the question of comparative merit does not arise. All religions constitute a revelation of Truth, but all are imperfect and liable to error. Reverence for other faiths need not bind us to their faults. We must be loyally alive to the defects of our own faith, but not leave it on that account to be overcome those defects looking at all religions with an equal eye. We would not only not imitate, we would think it our duty to adopt into our faith every acceptable feature of other faiths.

The question then arises - Should there be so many different faiths? We know that there is a large variety of them. The goal is one, but the roads which the seekers are many, we can not reduce the number of roads, yet we recognize the unity of the goal. Even as a tree has a single trunk but many branches and leaves, there is one religion, but many faiths. All faiths are gifts of God, but partake of human imperfection, as they pass through the medium of humanity. God-given religion is beyond all speech. Imperfect man put it into such language as they can command, & their words are interpreted by other men equally imperfect. These imperfections that be held to be the right one? Every one is right from his own standpoint, but it is not impossible that every one is wrong. Hence the necessity for tolerance, which does not mean indifference towards one's own faith, but a more intelligent & purer love for it. Tolerance gives us spiritual insight, which is as far from fanaticism as the north pole is from the south. True knowledge of religion breaks down the barriers between faith & faith & gives rise to tolerance. Cultivation of tolerance for other faiths will impart to us a truer understanding of our own.

Tolerance obviously does not disturb the distinction between right and wrong, or good & evil. The reference here throughout has been to the principal faiths of the world, which are all based on identical fundamental principles, & which can all point to a single God & women who held them in the past & hold them still in the eyes of God. Religion

Young India

AHMEDABAD.

23/10

7th October 1931.

23/10

Why are our demands 'Impossible'?

The Viceroy has repeatedly characterized the demands of the Congress as "impossible"; while the hostility of the Govt. (for that is what they really are and not 'delegates' or 'representatives') to the R.T.C., on the other hand believe that it is possible by "reasoning together" to induce the Britishers to grant India "the Substances of Independence". So are convinced that the --- promises to the R.T.C. are --- mistakes and the Viceroy is right.

For, what does the granting of the "Substances of Independence" mean to England? Britain has been using the political wedge to open up and keep open the Indian market to British manufacturers. About 40 % of our imports are from Great Britain and over 40 % of our exports, mainly raw materials, are to that country also. For India's demand is tantamount to making Great Britain to give up this political wedge. If she did grant what is demanded, the cost of raw materials for her factories will go up, and with the increased cost of production her exports will fall in the inter-national markets. In an industrialized country like Great Britain, which works on what the economists call "the law of increasing returns", a change such as this will spell disaster. The damage will be far in excess of what the casual reader will be led to believe seeing that the trade of Great Britain with India is not the major part of her total foreign trade. Yet the loss will be --- cumulative. With prices fixed by inter-national competition and increase in cost some of the factories will have to close down. Both capital and labour will not be fully employed and a surplus of these will lead to a fall in interests and wages. In the event of such a catastrophe who will venture to prophesy the future of Great Britain? She might have to relinquish her naval supremacy and be content with a modest place such as modern Greece occupies.

Can she agree to terms which might hold in store such a future for her? 'Impossible', says the Viceroy emphatically. The optimists of the Indian edition of the Simon Commission say, "We can talk them round". Who is right? The Viceroy's answer finds a parallel in the reply given to Abraham Lincoln by the Southern States of America. The 'Impossible' became 'possible' only through great suffering and the slaves were --- liberated. India too can obtain her freedom only through travail and not by such speaking. J.G. Kumbharappa. Changanur.

Since 3 days I have been continually travelling through the little towns and villages of this far away district on the borders of Nepal. True to the faith I and endurance they showed in the days of the struggle with the Indigo planters -s, when Gandhi came and lived amongst them, these poor and simple people are again putting up a brave fight, this time for the freedom of all India. In these parts the --- non-payment of Chakdari Tax is being vigorously carried on. The payments are bravely ignoring distraint of property by Govt. out of all proportion to the tax due. Take for example for a tax of 7/8 a bullock worth 20/- and so on. Not to mention endless household vessels and even farm implements. They are having their full taste of British Justice, and it is making them make Swarajists. 24-10-30.

Mar.

From 'Deccan Herald'

(A translation of Gandhi's discourse this week on 'Tolerance' is given below. T.G.B.)

Reality of Religion.

This subject is so important, that I will dwell upon it a little longer. My meaning will perhaps become clearer, if I describe here some of my experiences. In Bombay we had our daily prayers in the same way, as in Sabarwal, and Ahmednagar as well as Christians attended there along with Hindus. The late Sheikh Rustumji of his children too --- frequented the prayer meetings. Rustumji Sheikh very much liked the Gujarati Khajur, 'mone vhalon etc'.

1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 26

Now I was turning over the pages of the sacred books of different faiths for my own satisfaction. I became familiar sufficiently for my purposes with Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and hinduism. In reading these books I can say that I was equidistant towards all these faiths, although perhaps I was not then conscious of it. Refreshing my memory of those days, I do not find I ever had too much of a desire to criticize any of those religions, but read each sacred book in a spirit of -- reverence and found in some fundamental morality in each. Some things I did not understand then, and do not understand even now but experienced the thought that it is a mistake morally to imagine that any thing in it we can not understand is necessarily wrong. Some things which I did not understand at first have since become as clear as daylight. Episcopalianism helps us to solve some difficulties, and even when we find that with some

... ..

"You mean that," perhaps --
 "I mean what I said last time,
 that there is a difference between religion
 and organized religion here --
 and that we do not propose
 an organized religion for irre-
 ligious men. Why do some one else
 propose that? There would be no re-
 ligion in the world if every man
 were to organize himself as to what the
 religion he must was irreligion.
 There is a possibility of this
 decision being occurred. But if we
 follow the way of love, we will
 hear any word, for even when we
 find some one claiming what we
 think is wrong, we shall --
 continue to love him, and therefore
 either we will bring him to see
 error of his way, or he will po-
 out our error, -- each will tell
 to the other the difference of opi-
 on. The other party may not ob-
 the law of love and say, as vio-
 to us, but if we cherish real love
 for him, there is no doubt that
 his bitterness will overcome his
 bitterness in the end. All obsta-
 -s in our path will vanish if only
 we cherish the golden rule that
 even for the faults of others we
 must not inflict suffering upon
 them but must suffer in our own
 person."

A Reminder
 One of our contemporaries who reprint material appearing in these columns fail to acknowledge the source from which they have obtained such matter. Apart from any question of legality or ethics, this is a gross breach of journalistic ethics, and we are confident that it is FARA's business to point this out to save it rectified.

Weekly for News
ROMAN is the Vice President E.T. G.C.
 was kicked by a Police Sergeant.
 at. Parale Becker with Lethal.
 Convictions. Members of the War
 Council and five sergeants.
CHILDER Lethal charges at Daula,
 Francisco and Benetti.
 Convictions: Sgt. Foreground
 Daula, Mr. Karatados the aft
 2 1/2 miles & 61 workers.
CHILDER Lethal charges at Besset
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the effort to banish poverty with a subsidiary industry. This program has been successful - the 1000 Jacks the symbol of exportation in India - has been between the police. Our faith in our dollar -- assures us that the re-entrance of the machine will win still more understanding the night comes the "Jack's" J. C. K.

Human nature throughout the ages has remained more or less the same. Its manifestations vary, -- slightly with environment and historic factor is constant. Its tendency is to take the line of least resistance. Those in power wish to get rid of the critics rather than meet their argument head on and give an excuse to present John's death on a quagmire. Richard III acted in the heat of Lord Hastings before he could think and also murdered his two nephews in prison as he was jealous of their claim to the throne.

Politically, Lord Irwin seems to be a limphead descendant of Harold and Richard III. He finds rival elements in Congress leaders and so slings them into prison as fast as he can. Pandit Bhanu Jeevarlal Mehta who has been out of prison barely a week has again been arrested under one pretext or another. This a. s. spirit is clearly seen in the IX ordinance and the way which is applied to get out of the way those who oppose the exploiters. Over 500 leaders of Bombay City have been put into prison in a day, or two. But the spirit here is a sign of despotism, is a tyrant. Example of this spirit is not wanting either now. It need hardly cite an example to the two Roper Enquiry Committees who were sent to prison for their opposition to hold an enquiry over the excesses of the police which convictions have now been quashed by the High Court. With the development of worldwide communication and publicity Lord Irwin can not sit any longer ask for the names of Congress men and their families. Nevertheless the underlying principle of 'statensnaskap' is the same as that that guided the English king

The spinning wheel is galvanized to iron's true economic problem. The cost motivation that has driven near Gambiji's imagination to solve this is the Bafra's weaving industry from which the materials for spinning and weaving were supplied to most of the local and large of papers were invested in that workshop. The National flag of that institution was the emblematic symbol of

first reference to school - 1941

From 'School'

discusses

1941

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first reference to school - 1941

From 'School'

discusses

1941

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do not acknowledge the necessity
of...
to suggest that...
of weakness and...
ful. Again they say...
rule is found to be...
for sinful after...
ascess to it, with...
to it after such...
absolutely insufferable...
instance, they...
thing to...
where is the...
"occasionally...
grounds" a...
hence would be...
and as with...
things.

I do not think...
paganism in these...
means...
and is...
one's mind...
space. Detachment...
nothing if it...
fort. The universal...
humanity supports...
progress is...
strong...
as a...
the case of...
to be...
to be...
necessity to...
one taken or...
about...
taken only...
recognized...
"altitudo...
the possibility...
has...
devoted...
considered...
lured...
for he is...
facts that...
be also...
The...
acceptance...
will be...
is...
it matter...
one's life...

Garfield County, Oregon

$$\frac{\text{undigested DNA}}{\text{corrected count}}$$

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}$

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय
कोर्ट ऑफ अपील
कोर्ट ऑफ फास्ट ट्रैक

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

same account was given. The Revenue Officer goes to a village, calls the Baras together, tells them they need not pay their debts to the Jajars, and if any Baras will come to a certain money of their own, should treat him - kill him even, and serve his body into the river, where fish will eat it up - as he (the R.O.) will "steal" against the Baras. He, on the contrary, will only keep by selling them the confiscated lands of the Baras at Rs. 700 per acre at Rs. 10 per acre.

I think Mr. Bradford left Fairbairn district? a sadler and a wider man."

Correspondence on our desire that Europeans traders in India desire that they should not be treated as foreigners and that the status of Indian citizenship should be conferred upon them. They refuse to contemplate being regarded as foreigners and promise a little royal "to the last ditch" in order to ensure their being treated as some of the soil, and secure a guarantee for the status of 'equality.' On the other hand, the Govt. of Bombay declares subjects of Indian States to be 'foreigners' and orders them "to remove themselves forthwith from British India." Let the Govt. of Bombay take notice that these 'foreigners' with Gandhiji at their head will not "remove themselves" from British India until they have accomplished the British as to the 18th Dec of 1931.

Extraordinary increase in Khadi
A short while ago we were asking people to practice self-reliance with regard to Khadi. We could not keep pace with the demand, and we were in the throes of opening and developing new production centres. To-day our new centres are pouring in cloth. Production had gone up by leaps and bounds, and we are asking people to buy all the Khadi they could possibly want.

It is our sacred duty to buy this cloth and support the industry of our peasants and the dignity of the little of Swadeshi cloth and self-sufficiency then any of us. Mrs.

From Sardar Sardar

The following is a translation of the statement of Gandhiji's discourse on a newspaper - 9. 8. 31

I wrote about yajna last week, but feel like writing more

about it. It will perhaps be worth while further to consider a principle which has been created along with mankind. 'Yajna' is duty, to be performed or service to be rendered all the twenty four hours of the day, and needs a Hindu like 'Tere-pakraya satam vikatayah' (All gifts are utilized by the good in obelizing others) strikes one as rather inappropriate. To serve without desire is to oblige not others, but ourselves, even as in discharging a debt we serve only ourselves, lighten our burden and fulfill our duty. Again not only, the good but all men are bound to place all their resources at the disposal of humanity. And then being so, indulgence ceases to hold a place in life and gives way to renunciation; or renunciation itself ceases the aspect of indulgence. Man's delight in renunciation differentiates him from the beasts. Some object that life thus understood becomes dull and devoid of art, and leaves no room for the householder. But these critics fail to grasp the true meaning of renunciation, which does not mean abandoning the world and retreating into the forest, but the infusion of the spirit of renunciation in all the activities of life. The life of a householder may take the hue either of indulgence or of renunciation. A merchant who operates in the sacrificial spirit will have scores passing through his hands, but his thoughts will be entirely devoted to service. He will not about of speculate, will lead a simple life, will not injure a living soul and will lose millions rather than hurt any body. Let no one run away with the idea that this type of merchant exists only in my imagination. Fortunately for the world it is represented in the West as well as in the East. It is true such merchants may be counted on one's fingers' ends, but the type seems to be immortal as soon as even one living specimen can be found to answer to it. We have seen a philanthropic tailor in Ahmednagar. I know of one such barber. Every one of us knows such a weaver. And if we go deeply into the matter, we shall come across men on every walk of life who had dedicated lives. To doubt these sacrifices is to doubt their livelihood by their work, but livelihood is not their objective, but only the byproduct of their vocation. Until we see a tailor at first and continued as a tailor afterwards. But his spirit was -- dignified and his work was transformed into worship, as began to think

Young India

Amrabad.

13th November 1930.

No. 42.

The one & only Unlawful Body

According to all accepted ideas of democracy, sovereignty rest within the people and law represents the expressed will of the people. Despotism is the forcing of an external will on a people. The individual whose will is thus forced on a people, ~~with~~ a despot. A nation may be a despot if the will of one nation is forced on another.

To often hear the British Govt. in India described as 'the Govt. by law established.' "The Govt. of India" is a body established by an Act of the British Parliament. The British Parliament does not represent the will of the Indian people. Hence according to the basic principles of democracy an Act of that Parliament is not legal in India. While, therefore, 'the Govt. of India' may function as a Govt. by law established' in London, it is an illegal body in India. To one suffering from jaundice the whole world looks tinted, so to this illegal body or other associations which represent the will of the people seem to be illegal.

The hirings of this real illegal body - the Viceroy Government - have no legal status in India and their acts should be resisted to the uttermost. No stone should be left unturned in our attempt to root out this parasite from our land.

If an ocular demonstration were necessary to show that 'the Govt. of India' is a despotism of the grossest kind, we invite our readers to visit the villages of Gujarat and see for themselves whether it is the expressed will of the people that is being administered there or the will of a hungry tiger on its prey. These simple peasants acknowledge as law the will of their leaders - Gandhiji and Bhera.

The noble fight these villagers are getting up is verily a fight for India's freedom. It behooves every one who calls himself an Indian or, for the matter of that, a lover of freedom of any

nationality to give all the moral support they can to this fight. The least they can do is to visit these heroic patriots and let them know that their hardships are shared and appreciated by the rest of the country.

J. D. Kumarappa

From "Yagnya Mantra"

(I) Give twice a translation of Gandhiji's introductory remarks to a proposed series of discourses to the Ashram on the Gita and the first discourse which is the summary of the twelfth chapter.)

So far we have discussed the vows which are observed in the Ashram - also sacrifice and the necessity of vows. Now I wish to discuss, as I understand it, the book which we complete every fortnight, reciting it chapter by chapter each day. Book which we meditate, and of which we have made for ourselves a spiritual lighthouse.

If we try to understand from all possible points of view, and continuously meditate on this book, which we wish to make use of at every turn, and with the help of which we wish to unravel the complexities of our mind, we must become one with it. Is for myself, I run to my Mother Gita whenever I find myself in difficulties, and unto Her She has never failed to comfort me. It is possible that those, who are getting comfort from the Gita, may get greater help, and see something all together new, if they come to know the way in which I understand it from day to day.

This day I feel like giving a summary of the twelfth chapter. It is Shakshirupa - realisation of God through devotion. At the time of marriage we ask the bridal couple to learn the chapter by heart and meditate upon it, as one of the five sacrifices to be performed. Without devotion, action and knowledge are cold and dry, and may even become shackles. So, with the heart full of love, let us approach this meditation on the Gita.

Ajuna asks of the Lord: "Which is the better of the two, the devotee who worships the Manifest or the one who worships the Unmanifest. The Lord says in reply :-

"Those who meditate on the -- Manifest in full faith, and lose themselves in Me, those faithful ones are My devotees. But those who worship the Unmanifest, and who in order to do so, restrain all their senses, look upon and say all alike, regarding none as high or low, those, too, realise Me."

It cannot be affirmed that one is superior to the other. But it may be asserted as is possible for an embodied being, that to comprehend and adore the Unmanifest. The Unmanifest is attributeless, and is beyond the reach of human vision. -- Therefore all embodied beings -- consciously or unconsciously, are devotees of the Manifest.

"So" saith the Lord, "Let thy mind be merged in My Universal Body, which has form. Offer thy all at His feet. But if thou canst not do this, practice the restraint of the passions of thy mind. By observing fasts and silence, with the help of pranayama, japa and other practices, bring the mind under control. If thou canst not do thus, then perform all thy works with true intent; that whatever work thou undertakest, that thou doest for My sake. Thus thy worldly infatuations and attachments will fade away, and gradually thou wilt become stainless and pure. The fountain of love will rise in thee. But if thou canst not do even this, then renounce the fruit of all thy actions, yearn no more after the fruits of thy work. Ever do that work which falls to thy lot. Man cannot be master over the fruits of his work. The fruit of work appears only after causes have combined to form it. Therefore be thou only the instrument. Do not regard as superior or inferior any of these four methods which I have shown unto thee. Whichever, in thee, is suitable for thee, that make thou use of in thy practice of devotion."

It seems that the path of hearing, meditating and contemplating, may be easier than the path of fasts, silence, pranayama and japa, to which I have -- referred, easier than that may be concentration and worship and again easier than concentration may be renunciation of the fruits of works. The same method cannot be equally easy for every one, some may have to turn for

help to all these methods. They are certainly -- evolved. In any case thou wilt need to be a devotee. Achieve that goal by whatever method thou canst. My will is simply to tell the vision to attain a true devotee. A devotee hates no one, bears no grudge against anyone, befriends all creatures; is merciful to all. To accomplish this he eliminates all personal attachments; his ego is dissolved and he becomes as nothing; for his grief and happiness are one; he forgives those who trespass against himself, as he longs for forgiveness from the world for his own faults. He dwells in contentment; he is firm in his good resolves, he surrenders to his his mind, his intellect, his will. He never causes in other beings trouble or fear, himself knowing no trouble or fear through others. My devotee is free from joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain. He has no desires, he is pure, skillful and wise. He has renounced all -- ambitious undertakings. He stands by his resolves, renouncing their good or bad fruits; he remains -- unconcerned. Such an one knows not enemies or friends; is beyond honour or disgrace.

In peace and silence, contented with whatever may come his way, he lives in wealth as if alone, and always remains calm no matter what may be going on around him. One who lives in this manner, full of faith, he is My 'beloved devotee'."

Early War News.

Parth Sarthi Mahra has -- appointed November 16th as "Gandhar Day" when extracts from the speech of the Congress President for which he was convicted should be read at Meetings. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Acting President of the Congress and Jhamsingh Bhambhani have been -- released after completing their term. Sjt. J.M. Sanghvi Pro. Gen. Acting Congress President has been given one year simple imprisonment.

ROMAN The B.P. Youth League and ten other organizations have been declared unlawful. Newspapers warned not to publish news and notices of activities of Congress and other "unlawful bodies". Frequent 16th marches on Monday, Wednesday & Friday. The police opened fire on Friday.

CHITRAY Convictions: Sjt. Rajji Desai, Chaitral Panchbhat and 30 others.

Police continue to
scurry villages in
Barad, Jaldipur and
M. 1011. 1
and conviction of Sgt.
as a member of the
servants of India
Society has been held
to be illegal and he has
been released.

AGMAY.-(Convictions:-
Sgt. 4. Gasteropage,
40 ladies and 79 workers.

BARAD.-(Convictions:- 101 workers.
Jail charge at Patna.

G. P.-(Convictions:- 99 workers
Jail charge at Arrah.
Convictions. 14 workers.

JHAR.-(Convictions. Mrs. J.M.
Sengupta, 9 ladies and
42 workers.

KARAI.-(Jail charge at Howrah
Convictions. 31 workers.

MAJ. J. J. J.-(The Chimer Inquiry
Committee appointed to
inquire into police
firing tragedy at Patna
has been banned in that
District.

Convictions. 42 workers.
THE PUNJAB.-(Convictions: 8

Convictions. 42 workers.
Convictions. 49 workers.

U. P.-(All Congress Committees
of the Bulandshahr
District have been
declared 'unlawful.'
Convictions: 64 workers.

Personal News

In his letter to me of 24th
October Gandhi reports of
himself and Kaka Babu as follows:
'We are both keeping good
health. I weighed last Thursday
105 lbs and Kaka 117.'

In an earlier letter
Gandhi writes of his spinning:
'I am making daily progress, and
then of his carding. 'The carding
gives foul muck. Withal wrote
saying, that we should use a
carder for breaking the gut
instead of lares. This change has
made the gut give much better
results. I wish those who have
new experiences will pass them
on to me. Whatever are feasible
acts, I shall certainly try.'

'I hope to finish the hymns
(Ganjanvalli) earlier than I had
expected', is the P. B. to his
letter of this week. Mrs.
to 'Regulation of Debt'

I am a scholar of the type
of Dr. Gilbert Slater seems to
find it difficult to understand
out attitude towards the question

of Public Debt. In the course of an
article in "Time and Tide" he says
'...Whether we stay in or get out
we shall naturally insist on their
recognising their debts. 'He does
not realise these debts were not
incurred by us to be our debts. We
cannot repudiate our debts once we
accept, unqualifiedly, the word 'regu-
lation' as a synonym for us as it
appears to be to the Britisher. It is
a disclaimer for what we want. No one
with any respect for National Credit
will be a party to a scheme which
attempts to wipe away its legitimate
obligations. All that is asked for
is the fixation of the incidence of
the burdened public debt. Some part
of it need be cancelled. The whole
of these debts have been piled on
India, while the real incidence for
part of it should have fallen on the
people of Great Britain. What we
demand is the decision and a settle-
ment by an independent tribunal as
to how much of the incidence should
rightfully fall on India and how
much on the British tax-payer. To
denounce such a legitimate request
is to plead for the perpetration of
injustice. J. C. Kumarappa.

Tips for Lord Irwin

As the Sanskrit saying goes,
Nee heat of sand expends the sun
is infinitely more oppressive than
the heat of the sun itself. The
French say that the royalist is more
deeply devoted to royalty than the
king himself. The pupil often sur-
passes the master, and the Gwalior
State Council has much to teach to
the Governor General in Council. For
instance this August Council has
announced that any one who takes
shopkeepers to close their shops, or
sings national songs or cries ---
'Gandhiji Jai' in English, English,
or hoists the national flag upon his
house, or carries spinning wheels or
talks in procession, or takes people
not to take liquor or purchase
foreign cloth shall be liable to
imprisonment for six months and a
fine of Rs.500. Flags hoisted as well
as flags, wheels or talks taken in
procession may be confiscated by the
police. We commend this enlightened
piece of legislation to the attention
of the Viceroy.

J. V. G. D.

Young India

Abroad.

ABROAD. In the mountain top detachment from everyday life revealed in the Govt. of India Despatch may be commendable in a philosopher but is not reasonable in practical statement. Their recommendations are thoroughly reactionary and are calculated to perpetuated tyranny. This distant goal of self-Government which the Viceroy made reference some months ago appears to have receded beyond the horizon and set for ever.

However, this is all to the good. It proves beyond a doubt that nothing can be done for India from without. We have to work out our own salvation from within. Let us steel our hearts and redouble our efforts and carry on with might and main the Congress programme until the day of liberty dawns.

J. C. Kumarappa.

The "Tiger" Picture.

The attempt of the Bombay Police Commissioner to gag the press by warning them that publication of notices, news etc. of Congress activities may be construed into helping an unlawful body reminds us of a stanza in a Tamil nursery rhyme where the Turkey cock is described as a vain-glorious bird that saw the beautiful peacock in the jungle dancing having spread out its brilliant plumes. Afterwards the turkey cock spread out its own dirty ugly feathers and started dancing. Having observed the

7.6.30. 1934-1935. Vol. 1. 11. 1933. 11. 1933.

Practical & Theoretical

Practical & Theoretical - No doubt the well-known intentions - are certainly being up among - mostly the kind of work of our patriots that is a great disservice to the country. Most persons do not realise that they are depriving our patriots of all former honour, they are the only one to finance the total collapse and are acknowledging the imposition of a false justice in these cases. The total collapse was so invited and several others since the latest is such an insult to the people of India. We do hope these men will find better use for their money than giving it to protect tyranny. J. C. Kumarappa.

Practical & Theoretical

This book contains two parts - a general discourse on the Gita and then proceeds to take up the first chapter. A translation is given below.

The Gita is a small portion of the Mahabharat. The Mahabharat is considered to be an historical work but, for as, both the Mahabharat and Ramayan are not historical works, but religious works, or rather, if we call them historical, they are the history of the soul. And it is not the description of what happened thousands of years ago, but it is the picture of what is going on in every human breast to-day. In both the Ramayan and Mahabharat there is the description of the battle that is daily going on between the Jeds and the Yajnas - between Karma and Dharma. The dialogue in the Gita between Arjuna and Krishna is one such description. That dialogue is recited by Krishna before the blind - Krishna'sra. Gita means "Song". The word Gita is understood, so the complete meaning is, an "Unfinished that is sung". Unfinished means knowledge - instruction. Thus the Gita means the teachings of Lord Krishna to Arjuna. We should read the Gita with the realization that

Young India

Ahmedabad.

2. 10. 30

No. 48.

23rd November 1930.

The Conscienceless Hero

Dates and News.

Unhappy Factious.

Remarks of the premier as well as the weekly "approbation" from Gandhiji point to the fact that the Govt. is highly pleased with its achievement. They are constantly suggesting to themselves that "in every way and in every respect they are getting better and better every day". To obtain the semblance of normality they keep in prison sixty thousand of our leaders and stage a peace-time show in London and add local colouring by garish statements like the one issued by the Collector of Kaira a few days ago where he describes impressions and accounts of police terrorism in Gujarat villages given by British journalists like Brailsford and public men like Telser and J. B. Mehta as "apocryphal stories by casual visitors", with these auto-suggestions they hope to hypnotise not only themselves but also world public opinion. Unfortunately for them the world does not consist of foolish words like the ostrich.

These attempts, apart from the insult to the intelligence of the people implied in them, only go to indicate to what extent the present Govt. has at heart the welfare of the people and the willingness with which it regards the wishes of the people. It first drives the villagers out of their territory by the notions of "law and order" and then adds insult by assuming a paternal air. These readings are of a book "Hero Emperor of Rome" by Arthur Wellesley, recently published where the author describes Nero, not as a diabolical tyrant but as a human and lovable creature, a great artist and a friend of the people. If Western mind is capable of apotheosising Nero we are willing to let them place the Govt. of India as it presides in Gujarat villages alongside of that Roman Emperor.

J. C. Kumbhkar.

We commented last week on the text of the standing orders served on Sardar Vallabhbhai and Mr. Mahadev Desai. The orders have now been superseded and fresh ones have been served on them. The texts of the two orders provide a nice study in the mentality of Govt. The text of the first order was:

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that you are connected with the unlawful and disloyal activities of the association known as the Indian National Congress, and that you are likely to deliver speeches or addresses calculated to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity I therefore prohibit you under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code from delivering any speech or address at any place within the limits of the Ahmedabad District for a period of two months from now."

The revised text reads:

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that you are connected with the activities of the unlawful association known as the Indian National Congress, and that you are likely to deliver speeches or addresses calculated to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity, and that you are connected with the activities of the association known as the Indian National Congress, and that you are likely to deliver speeches or addresses calculated to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity, I therefore prohibit you under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code from delivering any speech or address at any place within the limits of the Ahmedabad District for a period of two months from now."

Are we to understand that the Govt. no longer think that the activities of the "association known as the Indian National Congress" are unlawful and disloyal? What is the difference between the "Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee" and "the Indian National Congress"? It is rather difficult to discern the motives of this indulgence in the verbal jugglery, but let the Govt. understand for all time that all Congress organisations, central, provincial, district, or lesser, are part and parcel of the Indian National Congress which is pledged to deliver the present alien autocracy and to establish independence.

13th November 1948,

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No. 48. 321

by means of non-violent direct
action. Call its activities
'unlawful and disloyal' or simply
'unlawful,' they are what they
are, and no amount of repression,

DETAILS :-

Firing at Jamalpur, lathi
charges at Barhanga,
Jamalpur and Monghyr.

Amritsar, 13th Nov 1948

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or goal. This involves understanding the current situation and what needs to be achieved.

and will not apply to our dealings at all. We regard unsuspecting innocence as the integrity of the Britishearn in this country. The reading of the history of the last 100 years reveals the painful fact how this trust has been abused to further the trade of opium - a sort of locking, to the detriment of India, Ceylon, -- -- -- -- --, Malaya, and Brought Notes etc. have all been manipulated to foster British interests. In the scale has been weighted in Britain's favour and such transactions amount to a prostitution of the principles of trade and are immoral transactions. It is twice defiled. It depraves both him that gives and him that takes. Hence it depraves both the parties to cease from this "trade" until a just balance is restored. It is our bounden duty not only towards ourselves but towards our oppressed and mis-treated Brit and Eastern brethren that we bring to a standstill this illegal and immoral traffic propagating under the name of commerce. The merchants - both British and -- -- -- Indian who enter because of this cessation are sufferers in a just and righteous cause and their sacrifice will help to purify two nations. It is but fitting that our telegraphic messages should have chosen this as one of its early phases in its platform. Social discrimination has no part or parcel in this programme. It is a religious duty binding on all Britishearn and Indians to put an end to this prostitution of trades and restore condition which will bring it back to the level of a fair exchange of goods on terms which are reasonable, honest and above board.

Now we come to the third and the least important aspect viz. the political one. Is saying "the -- -- -- movement might be useful only if the British people knew that

The purposes that boycott should serve are threefold - economic, ethical and political. Under the first we bring in all foreign trade both British and others and in this boycott is a condition precedent for the development of industry. In all countries where the popular will controls the Govt. it is possible to encourage and foster home industries especially in the infant stages. But in India we are not in this happy position. It is the will of a foreign imperialistic group that is imposed on us and therefore if we are to develop the economic side of our country we have to exercise our own will power and refrain from buying foreign goods both British and others. This is in the form of a self-imposed tariff wall and it should find its counterpart in the encouragement given to home products and protect nascent industries from the unequal competition of highly organised foreign units. This is a legitimate national aspiration and there is no racial discrimination meant. It is a "rose spreading of the situation to say" after the attainment of Swaraj tariff walls would be raised to keep out British goods.

it was reported that Sir Stanley Jackson was giving Desraj the "Red" Desraj was awarded it was to be abandoned - self. Mr. Desraj had secured that we are hoping to get Desraj as a gift from the British people. This is totally erroneous. At one time Congress did believe in educating British public opinion and even started a paper in London called "India" but the course of events has taught us that our destinies are controlled not by British public opinion but by the whims of a bureaucracy which has all facilities to cultivate such influence as it needs to get acts of Parliament passed. Our struggle for independence is not with the British people but with the bureaucratic system. We have come to realize that the Govt. of India is not run by Parliament but by King, Emerson, Garretts & Co and our attempt is to break the back of this soulless bureaucracy. It is reported that the Collector of Kaira gave his name as "Alfred" in imitation of the ladies of the Ashram who omitted to give their fathers' names as they considered themselves daughters of the Ashram. These ladies have dedicated themselves to the ideals of the Ashram and so have lost themselves in it. Little did the Collector know the great significance of the name he gave himself. In the British Govt. of India he has seemed to be Mr. Alfred Master and has become "Alfred Bureaucratic". The man is dead but the inhuman machine lives. We shall fight until we succeed in converting Alfred Bureaucrat into Alfred Master once again and breathe into every one of -- bureaucracy the divine spirit of love. To do this our work does not lie in England and our interest is not mainly in cultivating British public opinion. Our work is here in India itself. Like Sir Stanley Jackson at St. Andrew's dinner, many who do not realize this position still believe that Congress will

we hope to succeed. Therefore, the boycott as a pure political weapon has very little use. For us and we may secure the Britishers we are not resorting to it in a vindictive spirit or with a view to bring sufferings on the labourers. Even so are distressed to see the -- figures of unemployment in U. S. bounding up to unprecedented numbers but this is a consequence of an exploiting imperialistic system which has to be overthrown to remedy it. It is inevitable in a struggle of this magnitude that there should be a good deal of sufferings inflicted incidentally on innocent ones. We can but pray that God in His mercy will shorten the days of tribulation and restore peace and good will. J.S.Kimrayappa.

Makes and Comments

What Price Essentiality?

Saba Begis Behari Ganguly, a Councillor of Calcutta Corporation, was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment on charge of harbouring non-violent satyagrahis. Are we not slaves in our own land and in our own "house"? Where is freedom? The bureaucracy chooses to dictate as to whom we should entertain as our guests. Can the arrogance of a system go further? Justice in India to-day means the carrying out of the will of the executive. What safety can there be under such condition? This is a "Home Status with safeguards" in action. We shall soon be educated to running our homes ourselves without any aid from the bureaucracy. But then that will be our goal and we must not dwell too much on the distant goal of a "Home" run by ourselves while we are still on the way. J.S.K.

"Protectors of the Public"

Mr. Justice Costello of the Calcutta High Court laments that "the people should regard the police as a fundamentally dishonest body and enemies of the public whereas they ought to be regarded as the servants of the public and protectors of the public and guardians of law and order".

In our opinion the public is

Young India

Ahmedabad.

1936

11th December 1936

1936-37-38.

19. 10.

Effects of Boycott

I. our last issue we considered the problems of boycott from economic, ethical and political standpoints and we observed that the use of boycott solely as a political weapon to injure our adversary is unbecoming to us as we wish for us going free from loads we are daily oppressed with the effect boycott has on ourselves both economically and ethically. We look upon it as a means for our own development and purification.

According to Baiter, a few days ago, replying to a question in the Commons the Secretary of State for India said that boycott of British goods was weakening throughout India generally and added that British exports to India for the September quarter showed a decline of 41.5 % compared with the corresponding quarter of 1935 and that the decline of British exports to all places decreased by 25.3 %. In other words if the exports to India during July, August and September 1935 were represented by 100 the exports for these months this year would be 58.4; similarly if British exports to all places in these three months in 1935 were 100 it would be 74.2 this year. These figures show that the fall in the export trade with us is not solely due to the general depression --- prevailing in world trade which only accounts for about 25 % while the balance of 18 % is due directly to the progress of boycott carried on by the Congress. This view only shows the effect boycott has had on Great Britain but we are not interested in their loss but on the effect it has on us. This can only be shown by a further scrutiny of the kinds of --- articles composing the export of Great Britain.

The following percentages have been worked out from statistics for September quarter published by the Royal Economic Society in their report on Current Economic Conditions.

showing only the chief articles making up the export trade of Great Britain and the comparable with the figure 100 for the corresponding quarter of 1935 taking all other countries so the old hand and India separately.

Articles.	Other Countries.	India.
Other articles goods	59.4	34.4
" Yarn	58.5	32.0
Textile machines/	55.1	34.9
other machinery	54.7	33.4
Galvanised sheets	53.5	36.9
Rail Locomotives	307.7	54.5
Metal sheets (tinued etc.)	55.4	27.3
Metal plates (not coated)	57.2	39.1
Copper Manufactures	75.0	77.9
Paper	75.0	73.4
Battery	74.5	63.0

Scrutinising these items we find that the first two clearly indicate the negative aspect of the movement i.e. the demand for foreign cloth as definitely gone down if it were remained at that stage could be not such ground for satisfaction but when we turn to the third item we see at once an attempt to capture this foreign cloth secret by Indian cloth. The positive side of Swadeshi is indicated by an increase in the importation of textile machinery. The fall in the fourth item does not warrant our attributing it to the boycott as it is practically accounted for by the general depression. We should have expected a larger fall in the fifth item. While most other countries have imported more rail locomotives than in the last year, India has really failed to buy its needs. This may indicate nervousness of railways in investing further capital while general conditions were so unsettled. Metal sheets show a large decline but we are not in a position to state much now for the needs are being met by the development of Indian industries. The manufacture copper does not seem to be affected even by the general depression for some reason not known to us. We are rather sorry to see paper's commodity largely used by the literate and better classes chiefly in towns

is not much affected. This is a manufacture in which India ought to be self-supporting. It is distressing to note to what extent it is dependent upon -- foreign sources.

For a big meeting' campaign is on -- and the results are highly satisfactory on the whole. We should like to see the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the 4th item reach zero; until then we should not rest contented.

British shipping laid up in the U.K. Ports on the first October 1929 was 380,000 tons while on 1st October 1930 was 496,000 tons and when we remember that a large share of the -- national income of Britain comes from the carrying trade the seriousness of this can be appreciated. J. C. Kinnear.

Bankruptcy of Statesmanship

From the way the Govt. has proceeded in jailing all the important leaders soon after their release from prison shows clearly that their purpose is to make an attempt to keep these 50,000 in jail as long as they can and then, they persuade themselves, they can govern the country undisturbed. If this be so why not be above board and instead of stopping forcible trials from time to time and making fools of the magistrats etc. and putting the country to enormous expense on account of the constant causing irritation and annoyance to the public with these repeat performances, they might as well inform these leaders once for all like they have done with Gandhi. This would seem to be a far more sensible and dignified course to take than the one they have adopted with regard to the Border. Their method is the old and the bad method. All they wanted was an excuse. First they made a feeble bid to ensure the Border into breaking constitutional orders. Then he arrived in India and he was served with a notice prohibiting him from public speaking. This proved of no avail as the Border was not well enough to do much speaking and he definitely refused to be trapped. Then the Collector of Kaira with all his solicitude for the well being of the peasants committed to his charge

served an order prohibiting the Border from entering Kaira District as he feared the Border may disturb the peace and tranquillity of the district villages. The Border was safe than a witch for those trespassers and he was to have gone to a village on Sunday last for a sealed collection as to prevent him from doing so they fished out an old speech he made in Kaira and arranged him on the strength of it on Sunday night.

Has not the bureaucracy used a enough to see these methods will take them no where? It is no good trying to cure the symptoms while the disease rages the body politic. As long as the basic trouble is not cured the Border and the rest of the leaders will be only going out of the jail to be sent back again.

Persecution has lost its sting and jail its victory. Suffering is a Satyagrahi's goal, what good can be served by these tactics? The Govt. is unable to devise ways and means of subduing the Satyagrahi and is floundering along the old paths of violence and terrorism to no purpose. The Govt. has failed hopelessly in dealing with this movement and by its repeated incarceration of our leaders it is -- proclaiming to the world its -- bankruptcy of Statesmanship, and demonstrating beyond doubt its total incapacity to govern by divided methods. Can a Govt. that allows a boy of 17 die after 20 days of hunger strike in Purchised jail as a protest against not food pay claims to be called human? Let some of our countrymen hope to learn the art of Govt. from such bankrupts.

J. C. Kinnear.

Notes and Comments.

Tragedy of the Press

The public seems to be under a misapprehension as to the meaning of the above phrase. The correct rendering of it can be deduced from the judgment of the learned and wise magistrate who has sent to prison the editor and publisher of the "Kashmir Chronicle" for printing the programme of the Kashmir War Council for Jyeshtha Day. It may be mentioned that the Police Commissioner's ban on the days meeting etc. was also published in the same column. Briefly the Kapalis are paying too price for their folly. They ought to have known by now that in India "Freedom of the Press" means freedom to --

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The system is like a periodical medical examination of the individual. Great many serious illnesses can be prevented by such periodical examinations. They are invaluable if the efficiency of the individual is to be maintained unimpaired. Yet all this requires the sacrifice precedent of a medical man who is able to help. It is absolutely useless having such an examination service, but by a quick change one can be to make money out of you and the policeman. Neither the necessary knowledge nor the will to serve. The examination by a quick is a waste of money and effort and a humiliation to the individual who undergoes that force.

A cabinet of a nation is one of the most important elements that a Govt. may undertake, but it is agreed that useless unless the information so gained is utilized to good purpose. To show how very necessary a cabinet is we will consider the following points:

Population is classified according to age groups. This may indicate longevity or otherwise of the people. Mortality statistics when properly prepared will show the most favorable and least desirable to be ...

[illegible]

We have previously agreed to the British Govt. of India is a supporter and an anti-anti body in India. But now they will have a claim to the co-operation of the people in taking a census if they can show that they have done the best use of figures collected on previous occasions.

infant mortality in India is an appalling figure. What have they done to bring it down? You will go into remote villages after villages without seeing access to a single trained staff. Even the crude barrier shown is a rarity. In the majority of villages no medical help of any kind comes to and is called around. Incurable disease, and find it risky to leave Indian living on the brink of death offered to thousands because the expectation of their lives is so short. The vitality of the people is being sapped by diseases like malaria that kill the Govt. fails to combat this. The Govt. has not even a satisfactory provision to distribute quinine, not to speak of preventive outside. In a few parts only. The most advanced regions in the world - the Panama Canal Zone - has been rendered practically innocuous by the steps taken by the United States Govt. Some years ago the Rockefeller Foundation offered a grant of research scholarships for Indian medical men to go to U. S. A. and study the various selected topics to combat malaria. The Indian officials went

a few villages. The officers and the tribemen came and asked for "Dak" and "Dak" was given. The Dak could be used for anything, such as medicine. The Dak was given a few years ago and it was a number of months before it was for lack of money. The Dak was sent out but it was not properly used. The Dak was given a free gift and was not willing to accept of it. The Dak was the property of the Dak and was collected for the Dak's help.

In a small village there are not enough wells even to supply a sufficient of good drinking water to the people not to mention the total absence of any sanitary arrangements for the people.

Can we obtain "old bones" under such conditions? Is it any wonder Indians are short lived? The reason for the danger of extinction if adequate steps are not taken at once to remedy these.

It is disgusting to think of the efforts of primary education made by our bureaucracy. Within a period of about 60 years the literacy of the people has increased from 2% to 10% or 12% percent. If this is possible with a people just out of slavery and barbarism would it not be possible with a nation with an ancient culture? Lack of funds is often put forward as a plea, while it is easy enough to increase the salaries and allowances and add to the expense of school education to the State; a trip to Europe also within the five year term of the heads of provinces and maintain at enormous cost an artificial and ruinous ratio of exchange and spend bulk of the revenues on military expenditures. The bureaucracy is bent to find the what-manner for education. It is not the money that is lacking. It is the will that is absent. It is a confession of utter integrity and nothing else.

There after few larger and larger percent of the population is being driven to the land. India is fast becoming a single trade country. The variety of occupations available to the people including thanks to the bureaucracy's design were instead of increasing opportunities for the economic activities

of the nation are actually restricted. The bureaucracy with a record of mismanagement. With these facts they are able to ask for the money to be given to the people in the hands.

It is not only proved to be a mistake but they have actually done these things to justify their struggle field on it. The bureaucracy takes everything they could get to the grass to the south the bureaucracy takes everything it can get to justify its existence. The fact is itself is a proof that it has no business in India. They throw away good money after they have a good thing. They are not better for our work? Education can be a success in many hands. The bureaucracy does not use these figures for our benefit but to serve their own hands. They will not use them but as they have to get the figures themselves. We are not recommending a boycott of the census in an abstract manner but because we do not want to submit ourselves to an examination by quacks.

Then our brethren in forced and bonded are living in camps and have no houses which can be numbered. Is it right for us to have our houses numbered? Let us regard our houses as ours as long as we are not masters in our own land. As long as we are slaves, we cannot be the rulers. It is like a shopkeeper who wish to know the kind of quality of slaves. It is both humiliating and degrading to submit to such a census-taking schedule.

From our strategic point of view the boycott of the census is admirably suited to fit into our programme. It is of universal application and simple in operation.

Notes & Comments.
Mr. Churchill's Speech.

Mr. Churchill is reported to have said at a meeting of business men in London under the auspices of the Indian Empire Society that "the British system had no intention whatever of relinquishing the complete control of India's life and progress" and he expected "unmistakable majority against the extension of anything like Indian States" in a new House of Commons which he felt was certain to be in existence soon. He also recognized that the B. I. C. was in "no way representative of the real forces challenging British rule in India".

But the Premier naturally denounced him and other objectors

on his qualifications to speak on the subject.

Chief of Police has been rightly reporting that the British at first as we see the British in their haste in India and some ordinances, Res. 1000 and 1001-1002, later on and after the introduction of the Bill have been asked for a change in the Bill. The British authorities have been in the wrong and we fear the Premier's attitude towards the Bill is hypocritical in the light of happenings in India.

Convictions: 119 workers.
REMARKS: It is reported that the Bengal Govt. have a definite of Rs. 5,00,000 in the current year.

Complaints of food, insufficient clothing, overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in jails continue to arrive from several Bengal jails.

Convictions: 119 workers.
REMARKS: All associations and committees connected with the Congress in the District of Chhota Nagpur and the sub-division of Deogarh have been declared unlawful by the Bihar Govt.

Convictions: 35 workers.
REMARKS: A young volunteer Babu Gopi by name whose duty it was to stop a lorry from carrying foreign cloth was run over by it and is dead as the result of the injury sustained. Legal charges on Friday and Saturday.

The Bombay High Court has set aside the conviction of Rjt. Maginder T. Master as he could not be proved to have had sufficient notice of the ordinance when he was arrested a few hours after the ordinance was published. Other similar cases have been directed to be investigated.

Convictions: 8 leaders and 10 workers.
REMARKS: At Subulpoore 75 of foreign cloth shops have been closed and the rest are in the process of being closed.

Several complaints have been received from the Wazir prison regarding British treatment and food given to the political prisoners.

Convictions: 4 workers.
REMARKS: In Madras the British district has been created.

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Abstract

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"There is just a great deal to be done. This 'lean' has to be ridden on with all the energy we can summon if we mean to banish poverty and disease."

The liquor prohibition programme was fought up with great enthusiasm by the people all over. In a lot of cases, efforts to encourage large liquor shops to be have total consideration in the number of licensed shops has resulted more bygone our establishment. We cannot meet our own needs until every vestige of this evil has been eradicated from the country.

The 187 two items had been donated by Columbia to the care of women, in a result of this our minister have come to the fore and are visiting with the men in their struggle for freedom. Finally, a matter of the women they have come out as much into public life as to make their Western sisters marvel and envy their achievement.

Apart from these three main planks of work and special programs for those who were better qualified to carry them out, Senegal, Togo and other places in Gujrat have launched an anti-tax campaign and are bravely putting up a fight against the iron fists of those in charge. All kinds of repressive actions have been tried to suppress them, all to no purpose. The movements of working class and limited bourgeoisie and the anti-feudal struggle of the peasants is a cheerful spirit and an indication of their

1992, 1993). In addition, the authors have found that the use of a single, non-specific, questionnaire to assess the prevalence of mental health problems in the general population is not sufficient to identify the prevalence of specific mental health problems. The authors have found that the use of a single, non-specific, questionnaire to assess the prevalence of mental health problems in the general population is not sufficient to identify the prevalence of specific mental health problems.

Parole: 1960
 Reason: because of his color
 1961: returned from Navy 1961
 in San Leandro Civil Hospital
 1961-1962

Letter changes at Cabinet
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Corrections: 8 India and 2 others

Winnifred -Dylan Birmingham and Salisbury victims of being charged associated to their reaction

G.P. — Two bags of 14 were given 10 stripes each for picketing carriage cloth shops at Mawval. Lathi charge at Saraji. Numerous boycott of Carriage cloth at Warner.

Convictions 3 workers
guilty -Depas Talama, Surat
District has resulted in a
no to the campaign. Some of the
villages are being evacuated
Kodava and Malay Talukans of
Kandachada are also getting
ready for a counter campaign

1. The following are the names of the authors of the book "The Art of War": Sun Tzu, Li Shaozong, and Sun Shaozong. The book is a classic Chinese text on military strategy, and it is one of the most influential works in the history of warfare. It is a must-read for anyone interested in military history or strategy.

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The Punjab Government is faced with a deficit of Rs. 100 lakh charge of

— **Costs:** = 2001. 1.1m. 2002. 1.1m. 2003. 1.1m.

In the eastern part of the Province pioneering of liquor and game shops is being carried on and game laws are being set down.

Armed soldiers are going about in the districts of Sakrebargobulo, Bolnisi and Alupark terrorizing the people and political prisoners were shipped to Enklopa and Khetumi Jails.

David L. Johnson, New York University, New York, U.S.A.